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Minority Political Participation in North Carolina

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by Stephanie Ann Cox, Intern

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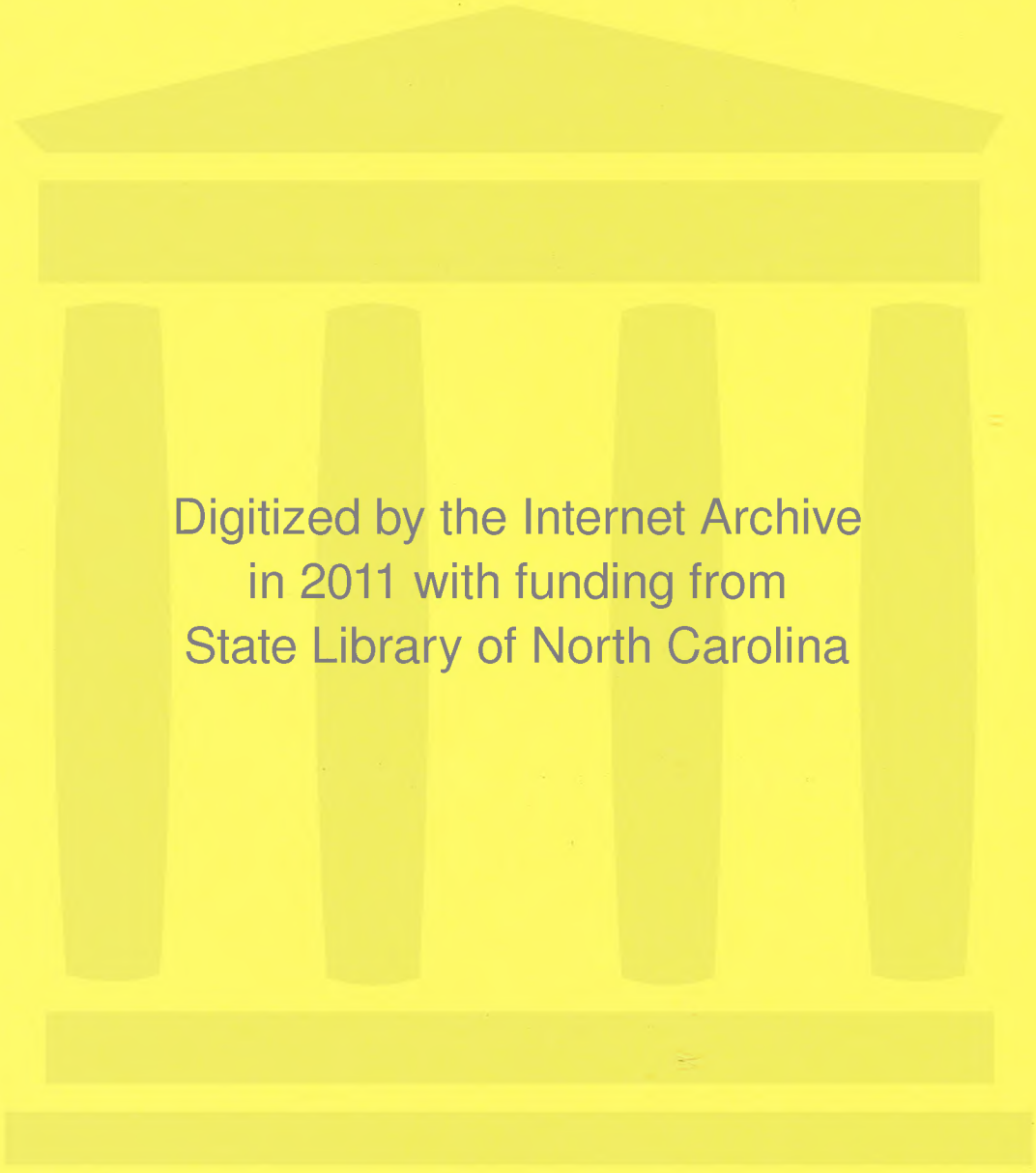
North Carolina Human Relations Council

North Carolina Department of Administration



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MINORITY POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
IN
NORTH CAROLINA

by

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PREFACE

The Reverend Charles Ward told a group of college interns recently that when he was coming up in Georgia, blacks were encouraged to make their living in North Carolina.[1] The state was considered more progressive and blacks thought that they might enjoy equal pay for equal work. North Carolina enjoyed a reputation unsullied by the racial extremes of the Deep South and despite remaining barriers to registration, specifically the literacy test, black registration in 1965 was the highest in the south.[2]

The adoption of the Voting Rights Act and North Carolina's own electoral reforms brought a period of progress in black political participation. Registration rates rose and more minorities were gradually elected to office. However, within the seven years following the Voting Rights enactment, North Carolina moved from first to last place in black registration.[3] The Tarheel state presently lags far behind other Southern states in the number of black elected officials.

Minorities in North Carolina, which generally refer to blacks and Indians, but also Republicans in some instances, have always had to struggle for the right to vote. The battleground has now moved to making the minority vote count once the ballot has been cast. This battle did not end in the 1960's or even the 1970's. Unfortunately, too many people of all races have no idea that there is any reason left to fight.

This report presents information about the continuing barriers to minority political participation in North Carolina, pinpoints where they exist, and outlines their effects on the minority community. In his Citizens Awareness Year, Governor James B. Hunt, Jr. targeted the county boards of election for his registration efforts. This report focuses primarily on the county level also. Information was compiled from the reports of: the State Board of Elections, the Institute of Government, the United States Department of Justice, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

In light of the impact of the Voting Rights Act on the status of minority political participation, this report begins with an overview of that landmark legislation. Amendments by Congress in 1981 and 1982 have changed its complexion favorably. The significance of these provisions is also included.

The purpose of this report is to inform interested citizens about the status of minority political participation and the subtle barriers that linger from the last two centuries.

OVERVIEW OF THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965 AS AMENDED

The Voting Rights Act became law on August 7, 1965, ninety-five years after the 15th Amendment was adopted.[4] The process contained general provisions for the nation as a whole and temporary provisions for specific jurisdictions. The permanent provisions prohibited voting procedures that denied the right to vote based on race, color, or minority language group. The prohibited procedures included literacy tests or devices as preconditions to register, election laws that impede the exercise of voting rights, and any other practice that deprives minorities of the right to a political voice. The act required that any changes in local voting laws be submitted to the Department of Justice in areas where: (1) The jurisdiction maintained a test or device as a precondition to voting in 1964, and (2) Where less than 50 percent of the total voting age population were registered or actually voted in the presidential election of 1964.[6] This coverage was not limited to any one geographic region. Forty North Carolina counties eventually fell under this provision.[7] These counties, by type of coverage, are listed in appendix A.

In 1970 the act was extended for five years. The coverage formula was extended to any jurisdiction where a literacy test had been maintained and less than 50 percent of the voting age population were registered or voted in the presidential election of 1968.[8] In 1975 the act was again extended, but this time for seven years. The literacy test was permanently prohibited as a precondition for registration. Special provisions requiring assistance to language minorities were added to prevent voting discrimination against citizens who speak a foreign tongue. The triggering formula was extended to cover the presidential election of 1972.[9]

Some of the more specific provisions included exemption from coverage, appointing federal observers and examiners, special gauge provisions. The preclearance provision in Section Five has had the widest impact. Any change in voting laws, practices, or procedures in a jurisdiction that meets the criteria of Section Four must be submitted to the U. S. Attorney General or to the U. S. District Court for the District of Columbia.[10] The jurisdiction must prove that the proposed change will not have a racially discriminatory purpose or effect. On the basis of this evidence, the Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights makes a determination after sixty days. This period is doubled if additional information is needed.[11] In 1969 the Supreme Court held that <u>all</u> changes, no matter what the scope, must be submitted. Every aspect of an election process is included.[12] From 1965 to 1980, a total of 34,798 changes have been submitted for review from covered jurisdictions. They are included in Appendix B. A total of 815 objections have been returned to submitting jurisdictions from 1965 to 1981.[13]

The bail-out option exempted a jurisdiction from Section Five coverage through an action for declaratory in the U. S. District Court for the District of Columbia. Exemption is granted if the court decides that the state or jurisdiction has not employed a test or device for the purpose of or with the effect of denying the right to vote to a racial minority for the previous seventeen years.[14] No jurisdiction has been granted a bail-out to date.[15]

Since its 1965 passage, several Supreme Court interpretations have had an impact on the Voting Rights Act. The constitutionality of the act was upheld in South Carolina v. Katzenbach, 383 U. S. 301 (1966). The Supreme Court has generally interpreted the act's scope broadly, but City of Mobile v. Bolden, 446 U. S. 55 (1980) limited the scope of Section Two. Its decision had the effect of requiring proof that there was an intent to discriminate. This decision made proving unlawful vote dilution more difficult, even in cases where annexations or at-large systems had the undeniable effect of vote dilution.[16] This particular case dealt with an at-large system which had existed in Mobile, Alabama since 1911. As the Voting Rights Act was being tailored to counteract this court decision, a new case concerning Burke County, Georgia was being argued before the Supreme Court.

In 1981, with the impending expiration of key provisions of the Voting Rights Act, the Congress dealt with a series of policy questions. Each of these issues had the potential to change the complexion of the act. At stake were the preclearance provisions, bail-out provisions, and the "effect" or "results" test under Section Two. The House considered the act first in the summer of 1981 and with little opposition the House Judiciary Committee sent the extension to the floor. House Bill 3112 passed on October 5, 1981 by a vote of 389-24.[17] With bi-partisan and Southern support the battle moved to the Senate chambers. The Senate Judiciary Committee approved the bill after the engineering of a compromise by Senator Robert Dole, and on June 18 the full Senate amended HB 3112 to conform with their own version. Senate Bill 1992 passed by a vote of 85-8 and was forwarded to President Reagan.[18]

The bill passed with the combined backing of civil rights groups, Southern congressmen, and the Reagan Administration. The support of the South reflected the changing social mores, and more importantly, the increase in blacks registered to vote.[19] Their political voice has grown such that they could not be ignored. For most of the battle the administration declined to testify on the act, but after House passage, the White House announced its support of extending Section Five. President Reagan maintained his opposition to the "effects" test, however, until after the Dole compromise, when he was convinced that it would pass with or without his support.[20]

The Voting Rights Act as amended, contains seven key provisions which were not included in the 1975 version. The most controversial provision allows private parties, under Section Two of the Act, to prove a voting rights violation by showing that an election law or procedure has been applied in a manner that "results" in voting discrimination.[21] This section is permanent and applies nationwide. The House included the results test in its version, but in order to pass the Senate Judiciary Committee, Senator Dole added a section spelling out how the test could be met. In the language of a 1973 Supreme Court case, White v. Register, the bill states that a violation may be proven "if, based on the totality of circumstances, it is shown that the political processes leading to nomination or election in the state or political subdivision are not equally open to participation by minority groups."[22] The totality of circumstances will include such considerations as racial block voting, employment discrimination, and the responsiveness of elected officials to minority requests. Senator John East, Senator Orrin Hatch, and others argued for months that the "results" test would threaten all at-large election systems and usher in a requirement of proportional representation for minority groups.[23] One amendment attempt by Senator Jesse Helms would have authorized judges to order proportional representation or quotas for minorities. His rather sarcastic motion was rejected by a 1-94 vote.[24] Senator Dole's compromise addressed the issue of proportional representation that caused some senators much concern. The second provision of the amended Voting Rights Act was the key ingredient in this compromise.

The Dole compromise wording again came directly from White v. Register. It specified that in Section Two lawsuit, "nothing... establishes a right to have members of a protected class elected in numbers equal to their proportion in the population."[25] This provision further specified that lack of proportional representation is only one circumstance a court can consider in a Section Two lawsuit.[26]

A third compromise provision extended Section Five for 25 years with a congressional review after 15 years.[27] The House version extended the preclearance mechanism indefinitely, but many congressmen doubted the constitutionality of such a provision. The twenty-five year extension is the longest in the history of the Voting Rights Act and will provide continued protection for covered states and political sub-divisions.[28]

With this lengthy extension came a new "bail-out" section to take effect in 1984.[29] The present version of Section Four will remain in effect until August 5 of that year.[30] The new option will allow a jurisdiction to bail-out from preclearance coverage if it can show a three-judge panel in the District of Columbia that it had a clean voting rights record for the preceding 10 years.[31] Areas that successfully bailed-out could be brought back under coverage if they violated the law during a ten-year probationary period following exemption from coverage.[32] No state can be exempted as long as any political subunit does not meet the act's requirements.[33]

The fifth provision spells out what a clean voting rights record will require of a state or county. The jurisdiction will not be granted exemption from Section Five unless it fulfills the following: local authorities have not used any voting test or device in a discriminatory manner; there has been no final judgment of a federal court finding a violation of the voting rights law; there has been no consent decree, settlement or agreement entered into concerning voting rights violations; the Attorney General has not been required to send in federal examiners to help in the registering of voters; local officials have complied with the preclearance requirement by submitting all required election changes to the Justice Department and by repealing all changes to which the department objected; and the jurisdictions have made "constructive efforts" to include minorities in the elections process and to end intimidation of potential voters.[34]

The amended act extends the provisions which require certain areas of the country to provide bilingual election materials until 1992.[35]

Finally, the 1982 version authorizes any voter who is blind, unable to read, or disabled, to be assisted at the voting booth by a person of his or her choice.[36] This assistance may not be provided by the voter's employer.[37] An amendment by Senator East further restricted this assistance by excluding union officers.[38]

Following the passage of the amended Voting Rights Act, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled on the at-large case from Burke County, Georgia.[39] According to the New York Times News Service report, the ruling provided that circumstantial evidence "can be sufficient to prove that an electoral system was created or maintained for the purpose of discriminating against black voters." Therefore, Burke County's at-large system was found unconstitutional because the circumstantial evidence, such as black poverty, evidence of historical discrimination, and their exclusion from politics, served to prove discriminatory purpose in this election system.[41] The decision was somewhat outdated given the Congressional amendments passed beforehand. The Supreme Court established a more lenient standard for proving intent for proof of intent is no longer required. Its significance is somewhat limited now, but will serve as a guide to the type of evidence courts can properly consider in election discrimination cases.[42]

THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT IN NORTH CAROLINA

The impact of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 has been less clear in North Carolina than in other southern states. Minority leaders cite several reasons for this limited impact. A report of the Voter Education project listed three causes. First, our state was less "recalcitrant" in granting suffrage than other Southern states, so Blacks had less opposition to overcome. Second, racist North Carolinians could no longer justify the denial of suffrage, even to minorities. The third reason was that state officials did not fear minority participation because they did not populate the state in sufficient numbers to dominate politics. They felt that to deny free registration would spur it.[43] Representative Dan Blue, Kelly Alexander, and Benjamin Ruffin all cite historical reasons for low minority registration. They said that since blacks from other states had been so very oppressed in the past, they took advantage of the opportunities the Voting Rights Act gave, while black North Carolinians remained complacent.[44] So while minorities in our state had less ground to make up, they have been slower in doing it since the passage of the Voting Rights Act.

One of the ways to assess the impact of the Voting Rights Act is to compare the relevant statistics before and after 1965. When comparing registration figures we find that there was indeed a positive impact on the number of blacks registered to vote. Registration figures in the early 1960's have been compiled through census reports and surveys for these comparisons, since most election boards did not require racial breakdowns of their registration lists.[45] The Voter Education Project in Atlanta estimates that approximately 258,000 blacks were registered to vote in North Carolina in 1964.[46] In 1980, the State Board of Elections reported black registration of 439,713, almost a doubling of the 1964 estimate.[47] In a 1981 article in The Charlotte Observer, the author reported that the Northeastern counties have made marked turnarounds in black political participation since the 1964 enactment. These counties are predominantly populated by blacks who had been oppressed at the polls for many years prior to 1965.[48]

In comparing percentages rather than the raw tools, once again the state's black participation shows improvement. In 1960, the Voter Education Project estimates that 39.1 percent of the North Carolina blacks eligible to vote were registered.[49] This percentage reached its peak in 1976, when 54.8 percent of the eligible blacks had their names on registration lists.[50] In 1980, the N. C. State Board of Elections reported a percentage of 49.2.[51] In February of 1982, black registration was 42.7 percent.[52]

A third indicator of political participation is whether or not a minority group can place their people in elective positions. A report published by the United States Commission on Civil Rights compared the number of black elected officials in Voting Rights Act

covered states for 1974 and 1980. The report computed the percentage change for these states. In every state the number of black elected officials rose dramatically, ranging from a 143.6 percent increase in Louisiana to a 55.3 percent increase in North Carolina.[53] These comparisons are listed in a table in appendix C as well as the percentages of elected positions held by blacks in 1980. In 1980, out of a total number of 5,295 elected official positions, 247 were filled by black North Carolinians, yielding a percentage of 4.7.[54]

The registration figures and black elected officials for February of 1982 are included in appendix C. On all three counts, number of blacks registered, percentage of the eligible black population registered, and black elected officials, there has been remarkable progress since the Voting Rights Act passed in 1965. The act's extension in 1975 is usually credited with the increased number of black elected officials. There continues to be a disparity between the percentage of whites and blacks registered. This disparity presently ranges around twenty percent, but this gap has been narrowed since 1965 also.

North Carolina has another means of measuring the effectiveness of the Voting Rights Act since only forty of its counties are covered by the preclearance provisions of Section Five. Comparisons between North Carolina's covered and non-covered counties are included in appendix B. Each of these comparisons was compiled from 1982 registration statistics.[55] In non-covered counties, total registration in February of 1982 was 12.46 percent higher than covered counties. Non-white registration was 7.39 percent higher in non-covered counties and white registration was 9.3 percent higher. The percentage of registered voters who cast ballots in the 1976 and 1980 presidential races was around three percent higher. In every category of comparison, the non-covered counties exceeded covered counties in political participation for both races.

In comparison of black elected officials for 1982, covered and non-covered counties were roughly equal. Non-covered counties had the same number of state officials, twice as many county officials, several more municipal and judicial officials, and 13 less in education. There was no appreciable difference in the effectiveness of the covered counties to put blacks in office.

These comparisons of counties within our state indicate that the counties which are <u>not</u> required to submit all election law changes to the Justice Department are <u>more</u> progressive on the whole than the forty covered counties. This conclusion, while initially surprising, is easy to explain. First, the provisions of Section Five only applied to the problem areas of North Carolina. If a county did not meet any of the trigger mechanisms set out in Section Four in 1964, 1968, or 1972 then Congress assumed that pervasive discrimination would not be present. These sixty excluded counties were the most progressive (or least oppressive) in 1964 and have

made continued progress at the same pace as the rest of North Carolina. The problem counties started with a huge deficit to make up in black registration. Without the protection offered by Section Five, there is little doubt that these counties would lag even further behind. Second, the comparisons between total registration and white registration indicate different attitudes toward political participation in covered and non-covered counties. Non-covered counties have populations of all races who are more likely to register, and once registered, to get out and vote. This is not likely due to their location within the state. The covered counties are almost entirely limited to the eastern part of the state, where income levels for both races are lower than North Carolina's average. Poor, rural counties generally have lower registration rates and these counties are made up mostly of farming regions. These demographic conditions cannot be changed at all by preclearance protections, but by preventing barriers to registration and voting, Section Five will insure that no one who wishes to vote will be turned away.

Within the last year Section Five has protected the entire state from possible gerrymandering. As the North Carolina legislature drew up plans for redistricting, black populations were concerned that they would be diluted in predominantly white districts, but since this constituted a change for the forty covered counties, the plan had to be submitted to the Justice Department. Many plans were submitted and rejected, even to the point of delaying the scheduled primary. Finally a redistricting plan emerged that could be found without discriminatory effect. Minority voting strength was protected and minority candidates were able to compete with more confidence because of Section Five protection.

Still there are some in North Carolina who would deny the effectiveness of the Voting Rights Act of 1964 or object to its application in North Carolina. Quoted in a newspaper interview, Former U. S. Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr. said, "By the time of the act, states like North Carolina had practically abandoned the discriminatory practices of the past."[56] The State Elections Director feels that the need for the preclearance provision has passed in North Carolina.[57] While many blacks in the state concede that barriers to the black vote have declined, almost to the point of complete freedom to register, the institutional barriers to registration and fair representation continue to weaken minority political participation. They fear that a great potential for discrimination still exists.[58]

There is ample evidence to support the claim that the potential for discrimination persists in North Carolina. This evidence is included in appendix B, listing the changes which have been submitted to the Justice Department since 1965.[59] The potential to discriminate lies in the 1,198 changes submitted by North Carolina during that period, but more directly, it lies in the number of

objections which have been interposed. All of the North Carolina objections in the table occurred within an eight-year period from 1972 to 1980. There were sixty-two objections in all.[60] Without the preclearance provision, these changes which could not be judged with discriminatory effect would be in practice today. There would be that many, if not more, barriers to minority participation. The type of changes objected to for all covered states is in appendix B, along with a detailed list of objections sent back to North Carolina. The number one objection is to annexation, with at-large elections and majority vote following close behind.[61] As long as North Carolina is changing election laws that the Justice Department objects to, there is a great potential for discrimination.

Additional evidence that supports the claim that the potential for discrimination persists in North Carolina are the frequent incidents of non-compliance with Section Five. The Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, Georgia conducted a study on non-compliance in five southern states.[62] In North Carolina, according to this study, 159 acts affecting only certain counties have not been submitted under Section Five since 1965. Thirty-one counties have been affected by local non-submitted acts. As long as certain counties refuse to comply with the provisions of the Voting Rights Act, North Carolina could again fall victim to the discriminatory practices of the past.

A final piece of evidence for our continuing need for Section Five protection is the trend in minority registration. Despite the progress made in the past seventeen years, minority registration rates in North Carolina have been falling since their 1976 peak at a little over fifty percent.

In conclusion, the Voting Rights Act in North Carolina has wrought measureable progress towards equality at the polls with an increase in the number of minorities registered, voting, and serving in office.

North Carolinians can cite a recent example of Section Five protection against gerrymandering as proof or positive impact of the Voting Rights Act. Minority leaders are hopeful that even greater reforms may take place in North Carolina as a result of their victory on Capitol Hill and in the Supreme Court. However, Sam Ervin's claim that voting abuses were over in 1965 does not hold up under testing. While North Carolinians can rejoice in its progress thus far, they cannot ignore the continued threats to that progress. Minority registration has always lagged behind white registration, but now that trend is more severe as black registration rates fall. Minority voting and election remain depressed. Each of these trends is the result of blatant disobedience to Section Five and the barriers to registration, voting, and fair representation that persist in the state. These barriers will be the focus of the remainder of this report.

BARRIERS TO MINORITY REGISTRATION AND VOTING

The first step in the process of voting in North Carolina is registration. The General Statutes require that a person get his name on a county registration list before he can vote. The relatively simple procedure designed to prevent fraud has been used effectively as a roadblock to the minority vote. Low registration rates among minority citizens throughout the South can be attributed to a series of inconveniences and barriers in the registration procedure.[63] In their recent book on voting in the United States, Raymond Wolfinger and Steven Rosenstone discussed some of the disadvantages of registration.[64] They concluded that "registration raises the cost of voting."[65] The registration effort is often more difficult than voting, as it requires a longer trip, a more complex procedure, less convenience, and registration, and "must usually be done before interest in the campaign has reached its peak."[66] Registration in North Carolina is inconvenient, complex, and must be completed thirty days before the election. These general disadvantages to registration in combination with other barriers affecting primarily the minority community due to their depressed economic status, remain an effective obstacle to minority participation.

The barriers to registration in North Carolina fall into five categories. They are: access to the site, intimidation by the site, purging and re-registration, the complex procedure, and the cooperation of the individual county boards.

One of the major problems minorities must deal with in registration is access to the registration sites.[67] A publication by the United States Commission on Civil Rights[68] as well as reports from individual states' advisory committees,[69] and reports from the American Civil Liberties Union[70] cite access to the registration site as the primary villain to minority registration. These problems are a direct result of the fact that registration offices operate during business hours and that the office is located in an urban area. These offices are, for the most part, "inaccessible to rural and low income people, either because they cannot afford transportation to the registration location or because the office is closed before they can get there to register."[71]

The election laws of North Carolina require every county board to establish a full-time system of registration so that the books are open continuously.[72] The statutes do not, however, establish the operation hours. Counties having greater than 14,001 registered voters are simply instructed to operate registration "at all reasonable hours and times consistent with the daily function of all other county offices."[73] Counties with less than 14,000 operate under a modified full-time system, whereby the State Board of Elections does not necessarily require that they "be open such as is required" in full-time counties.[74] According to a 1983 publication by the State Board of Elections, thirty-seven counties operate their offices

three days a week.[75] Twelve of these counties operate only four hours each of the days they are open, for a total of twelve hours per week. Forty-five counties offer library registration, while a few counties register regularly on bookmobiles, in high schools, and in branch offices for different townships. A survey of thirty-eight counties showed that many county boards send registrars to shopping centers, a few visit banks, community colleges, industrial plants, nursing homes, driver's license offices, or churches. Thirteen of the counties go where requested. Two operated door-to-door efforts in the last election. These results of this survey as well as an explanation of its methods are printed in appendix D. Efforts to make registration more accessible have reached many persons who otherwise might never have registered. They are, however, dependent on county-by-county initiative. To this day, the central office is still the primary registration site with its accompanying inconvenience to rural and working people.

A second barrier to registration is intimidation by the site. Not only is the office in an urban center, it is usually in the courthouse or townhall. The courthouse is a long-standing symbol of white domination and control. Its processes have been kept from the black population, so it is a mysterious, often threatening place. It is safe to say that every county election board office in North Carolina is housed in either the courthouse, the county office building, or in some similar annex.[76] The Rockingham County Board of Elections is located in the Old Jail, and one surveyed county answered, "Office of Veteran Affairs" when called. Symbols of white domination may inspire fear in older black citizens or hopelessness and apathy in younger blacks. Another intimidation factor is "in-home" registration whereby registrars and judges register voters in their homes. This spreads the registration process to every precinct, but does not solve the minority problem. "In-home" registration takes place at the precinct officials' convenience. They may deny whomever and whenever it is not convenient for them. According to the survey, only 14 percent of these precinct officials are non-white. Most blacks and Indians might be reluctant to call and travel to a white home in a white neighborhood, especially if their request might be turned down.

The third major barrier to minority registration in North Carolina is the purge. The General Statutes provide that "any voter who neither voted in the first nor the second of the two most recent consecutive presidential elections shall be purged."[77] The names of those voters who "failed to vote in any other election conducted in the period between the two presidential elections"[78] will also be removed from registration books. The statute also states that the county boards shall purge those voters "who have moved their residence from the county as indicated by cancellation notices received from other counties and other states."[79] Counties shall also purge the names of those who have died according to the Department of Human Resources' certified list.

There are two primary problems for minorities relating to the purge. A person's name could be removed from registration lists without their knowledge.[80] Voters who have not been adequately notified that they must re-register will show up at the polls, only to be denied. The Department of Justice objected to a Texas purge law in 1975 for this reason.[81] The Attorney General found a potential discriminatory effect if the technical procedures were not fully explained to all citizens. He is quoted in The Voting Rights Act: Unfulfilled Goals as saying, "Unless....the participation in (purging and re-registration) by minorities is encouraged, purging and re-registration activities can be discriminatory in effect."[82] J. Stanley Pottinger, Assistant Attorney General in the Civil Rights Division, clarified this discriminatory effect in his objection letter to Texas and outlined a second obstacle erected by the purge. "A requirement that everyone register anew, on the heels of registration difficulties in the past, could cause significant frustration and result in creating voter apathy among minority citizens."[83] So the purge is a procedure that must be thoroughly communicated to anyone affected in order to assure equity. Even after this communication, however, some people will find the hurdle of registration too high to jump again.

The purge figures for North Carolina in 1980 are included in appendix E. A total of 295,746 purge letters were mailed by the counties.[84] Almost 25,000 voters responded with the answer card included in the purge letter. The final number of voters purged from registration lists was over a quarter of a million people. That is ten percent of all the voters registered in October of 1980 before the purge. The proportions are staggering when you think of each of these persons having to re-register. There are no racial breakdowns of the purge, but by comparing the registration figures for before and after the purge an estimate is possible. The procedure is outlined in appendix E. Within eight months there were 59,160 fewer non-whites registered. The percentage of non-whites no longer on the voting roles was 20 percent of the total, but only 16 percent of all registered voters in 1980 were non-white. Non-whites were purged at rates higher than their proportions of the registered population. As a result after the purge, non-white made up a smaller share of the registered voters, while the white share grew by that amount. In these comparisons lies the hard and fast proof that the purge has a discriminatory effect.

The fourth barrier to registration is the procedure itself. While the procedure may seem simple enough to those who design it, filling out forms can be intimidating to those who are not used to it. Once again to refer to the book at Wolfinger and Rosenstone, they cite the procedure itself as a hurdle to the uneducated.[85] "The barriers imposed by restrictive laws seem to make little difference to the well-educated but are a fairly formidable impediment to people

with less interest and bureaucratic skill."[86] They believe that variations in the complexity of registering has the greatest impact on those with the least education, and they cite two explanations for this claim. First, education increases political interest and provides a greater capacity to understand the political process. Second, the bureaucratic skills acquired in school make it easier to complete forms and adjust to new procedures. As the authors put it, "More education produces both a bigger incentive to jump the hurdle and a lower hurdle to jump."[87] As minorities have not had the same educational opportunities as whites, the burden of difficult and changing procedures fall harder on them. In North Carolina a person must give his name, age, place of birth, place of residence, political party affiliation, the name of any municipalities in which he resides, and any other information which may be material to a determination of his identity and qualification to register.[88] These provisions are set out in the General Statutes, as well as an oath that must be taken. If the registrar is in doubt, he may ask for evidence other than the required identification. This could be a very intimidating process to someone unfamiliar with forms and oaths, especially if the applicant felt hostility from the registrar.

A final barrier to minority participation is the attitude of the individual county boards. Some black leaders feel that the counties have too much power, and indeed, almost all of the steps needed to increase black registration require voluntary initiative by the county boards. For example, a recent change in the election laws allows any county to appoint special registration commissioners, whose sole job is to register voters. Only sixty-six counties have registration commissioners and forty of these have five or less.[89] Only thirty-seven percent of these commissioners were non-white in the counties surveyed. In the survey calls, most supervisors felt that they had done enough to increase minority registration. Two counties surveyed expressed the opinion that blacks would only register if the office took it to their doorsteps. Many counties complained of unsuccessful efforts they had made to register minorities in their county. This is a possible explanation for the poor attitude some counties have on registration reforms. Local initiative by church groups, NAACP chapters, and other civic organizations to register voters depends heavily on cooperation by the county board. If the board will not appoint special registration commissioners or minority precinct officials, then the officials will not be appointed. County boards are given almost complete powers of discretion as to what is and is not needed in their county.

In conclusion, non-whites in North Carolina continue to experience greater difficulty in registration than whites. In principle the inconveniences of registration should be no more difficult for minorities than they are for whites, but the continued disparity in registration shows that in practice, they are preventing minority participation. Due to the lower economic position of most blacks and Indians in North Carolina, the restrictions on registration have been a bigger burden on them.[90] With these barriers to keep blacks from registering and the trend towards gradual reduction of non-white registrants through the purge, the first step to political participation is threatened.

BARRIERS TO THE MINORITY VOTE

The major hurdle that must be jumped in order to vote is registration. With this step completed, minorities have not experienced severe difficulty in voting in North Carolina as they have in other Southern states. There have been no recent reports of blatant harassment at the polls, but there have been incidents of "slow-downs" by poll workers when minorities come to vote. A greater number of minority election workers and poll-sitters should alleviate this situation. Isolated charges of absentee ballot irregularities and improper sealing of ballot boxes have sprung up in the past, most recently in some western counties, but racial impact is seldom suggested. One charge of racial discrimination by some black campaign workers is that insufficient ballots are sent to predominantly black precincts, so that voters cannot participate while the precinct tries to get ballots.[91] There are fewer barriers to the vote than to registration, primarily because this right is so protected by the state and the nation, especially since the provisions of the Voting Rights Act, but whites continue to vote at higher rates than registered minorities.

ANALYSIS OF REGISTRATION AND VOTING PATTERNS

The Census Bureau published tables for 1980 comparing registration and voting figures on the basis of race, age, and sex.[92] An analysis of these percentages reveal definite trends in voter participation. In all races the percentage of the voting age population registered rises steadily from age 18 until ages 65 to 75 years. The period of life from 55 to 64 years of age is the one of greatest registration. This generalization is true for both sexes as well, with females registering at a slightly higher rate, usually of one to two percent.

The most recent figures comparing registration among regions were published by the Census Bureau in 1978.[93] Some of the same trends were obvious in the South as in the United States as a whole. As Southerners grow older they are more likely to vote, with 18 to 20 year olds registering at 32 percent of their population and 55 to 64 year olds at 73.3 percent. Blacks registered at a lower rate than whites, as is true nationwide, but blacks are registered at a lower rate in the South than other regions. Southern females of all races register at a lower rate than males, except from the ages 18 to 44, where the modern social mores seem to have taken over.

The most recent comparisons on the basis of income are from 1978 also.[94] Fixing age, as income rises so does registration. This is true for all races.

The Census Bureau conducted a survey in 1978 of reported reasons for not registering to vote on the basis of race, Spanish origin, sex, and age.[94] The choices included: recently moved; permanent illness or disability; hours or place inconvenient; others unable to register; did not prefer any of likely candidates; not interested, did not care, etc.; all other reasons; did not know; and reason not reported. The most frequent explanation given was that the respondent was not interested or did not care (38.5 percent), while the second most frequent answer for all races and both sexes was the category for all other reasons. One surprising comparison showed that inconvenient hours or place was an answer given less by blacks than whites as an explanation for not registering. Other reasons for being unable to register was given more frequently by blacks and those of Spanish origin than whites. Hispanics were the most apathetic group, with whites the second most likely to be uninterested in the races.

In comparing voting trends once registered, the same basic generalizations hold true. As a person ages and makes more money he or she is more likely to vote. White males and females are equally likely to vote, but black females and hispanic females are more likely to vote than their male counterparts. Southerners are less likely to vote than the rest of the nation, with white Southerners voting more than Southern blacks. The percentage of registered North Carolinians who voted in 1976 and 1980 are listed in appendix F by county.

The Census Bureau also conducted a survey on the reported reasons persons do not vote even though they are registered.[96] The responses included the following: no way to get to the polls; could not take time off from work; out of town or away from home; sick or family emergency; did not prefer any candidates; not interested; don't care; etc.; all other reasons, don't know; and reason not reported. The most frequent response among blacks was sickness or family emergency, especially for black females. All other reasons were given most frequently by all races and both sexes, but apathy or lack of interest was given only one half of one percent less. It was the most frequent answer for persons of Spanish origin. Older persons were more likely to cite a lack of transportation or illness, especially older blacks.

What may be surprising about these results is that the traditionally thought of obstacles to voter turnout are not cited as frequently as apathy or other reasons. The modern phenomenon, non-participation, sweeping our country has been thought to be more likely among disconnected citizens. This segment of society is least connected with the rewards of the political system.[97] It is true that the poor and less educated participate at a far lower rate than most citizens. Administrative obstacles to registration and voting, such as those discussed earlier, have traditionally been cited as a root cause of non-participation. Government efforts have targeted these obstacles in an effort to improve voter turnout[98] but these long standing theories have been challenged in recent years, partially because of the trend among middle class Americans to refrain from voting. The research efforts which have yielded the new theories are suggesting a new focus for government efforts to improve voter turnout.

One such theorist is Kevin P. Phillips.[99] He cites a 1971 study by the Young Democrats as the basis for his claim that local election laws are <u>not</u> a major obstacle to voting. The Young Democrats polled their local registration coordinators to determine the major obstacles to registration and voting in every state and they found "no significant differences between voter participation in states where a large number of obstacles could be found and in the nation as a whole."[100] They further concluded, on the basis of their results, that "administrative obstacles to registration are much less of a hindrance than frequently voiced complaints would indicate."[101]

A similar publication by Arthur Hadley supports these results.[102] The traditionally conceived causes of not voting were cited by only two percent of all non-voters in his test group. These traditional causes included complex registration procedures and hard to find voting places. The author used particular care when studying this group of "refrainers", as he calls them, to make sure that physical disenfranchisement was the true reason they did not vote and not merely an excuse given out of shame.[103]

While some studies confirm that electoral reform is the most effective method of enrolling new voters (methods such as in-home, supermarket, and street corner registration), especially among minorities,[104] past evidence suggeststhat these methods do not increase turnout. These reforms most certainly increase registration, but have no significant effect on voting, if any effect at all.[105] It is a confirmation of this statement that the biggest slump in U. S. turnout "came during the period when electoral laws were being greatly liberalized and obstacles to registration and voting were being stripped away."[106] Each of these publications conclude that registration efforts under the present system might better be redirected in most states.

The study by Arthur Hadley called The Empty Polling Booth, breaks the refrainers down into several categories.[107] Most of the government reforms to increase voting are aimed at a group he calls "the Bypassed."[108] The government assumes these refrainers to be a majority of the non-voters, when, according to his results, the group makes up only 13 percent of the non-voters. The Bypassed have low incomes and little education. They have simply been bypassed by affluence, free choice, education, and other simple joys. This group tends to reside in the Great Lakes States and the Deep South. Sixty-seven percent of this group is female, as opposed to 47 percent of all other non-voters. Eighteen percent of this group is black, as compared with 14 percent of all other refrainers. This group, which has the most to gain or lose by social change, has the least ties with the political instruments that bring forth this change.[109] Unfortunately, the governmental programs aimed at encouraging participation by this group are most likely wasted because they are the least likely to vote under almost any circumstances.[110]

A second commonly targeted group of refrainers are those the author calls the "Physically Disenfranchised."[111] They make up 18 percent of all refrainers. These persons whether for physical or legal reasons, including illness, are unable to vote. The physical reason for refraining most commonly given was bad health. Residency requirements after a recent move was the most commonly cited legal reason for being unable to vote. Only four percent of all non-voters had troubles registering or voting which are "typically associated with voters kept from the polls by hassle."[112] The physically disenfranchised are considered most like voters of all the refrainers and as such have the greatest potential for reform efforts. The author concludes, "undoubtedly with better registration and voting procedures that are designed with the true physically disenfranchised in mind, many in this group...will vote."[113]

The majority of the refrainers, according to Penn Kimball's study are like the voters in every way but one, and that difference seems to be their own opinion of themselves.[114] This self-evaluation included whether or not they believe that their lone contribution of participation would make any difference. "This self image is the product of job opportunities, health, education, discrimination, and sometimes simple human kindness."[115] Education and maturity have a significant positive effect on feelings of civic duty. Penn Kimball concludes that the reforms that might help those potential voters with low self-images to take part in the democratic processes would include an entire social overhaul. Decent shelter, proper health services, fulfilling jobs, and leisure time would have to be provided in order to reverse the present trends of apathy, despair, and political indifference. It is the people who suffer from these social illnesses or who do not feel that their vote will count who are most likely to refrain from the electoral process.[116]

BARRIERS TO FAIR REPRESENTATION

Once minorities have jumped the hurdles of registration and are going to the polls, the battle is far from over. Each of those hard earned votes can be diluted until they have little or no effect by the more refrained obstacles to fair representation. The method by which officials are elected and the boundaries of the area they are to represent affect the power and effectiveness of the minority vote.[117] These barriers are a sophisticated, entirely legal means of closing the door on a black candidate and the hopes of his potential constituents.

The barriers to fair representation for North Carolina fall into three major categories. These tools not only affect blacks and Indians, but Republicans as well.[118] They are designed to protect the positions of whites and Democrats, both of which are in the majority. The method of electing and the boundaries of a jurisdiction are the two major categories of barriers erected by the Democratic Party "to keep the votes of minorities, both political and racial, from being effective at the state and local level."[119] Candidacy problems limit fair representation also.

North Carolina has found that the method through which office-holders are elected is the most effective way to defeat minority candidates. The primary method is the fifty-plus-one rule. Most Southern states adopted the run-off primary around the turn of the century.[120] In 1915 North Carolina adopted this second election following the first primary, which included only the top two contenders. Sometimes called the majority vote requirement, it is a "favorite way of disadvantaging minorities in the electorate," according to the American Civil Liberties Union.[121] The General Statutes of North Carolina provide that a candidate for a single office must receive a majority in order to be declared the nominee or face a run-off with the next-highest vote getter.[122]

A majority is "ascertained by dividing the total vote cast for all aspirants by two with an excess of this sum being a majority."[123] In races for more than one seat, the procedure is similar. A majority is ascertained by dividing the total vote cast by the number of positions to be filled, and then dividing that sum by two. Any excess of this sum equals a majority.

The effects of this rule are especially significant in jurisdictions where blacks are in the majority and where whites refuse to vote for black candidates.[124] This rule inevitably forces a minority candidate who won a plurality into a subsequent run-off election against the next-highest vote getter. The minority candidate must rely upon white votes to be elected, but whites generally

regroup to support the white candidate.[125] A run-off with a white candidate, without some white support, generally spells defeat for aspiring minorities. A recent example was the race for the Second Congressional District. Mickey Michaux won a plurality in the primary, but not 50 plus 1, so he had to face Tim Valentine, a white candidate, in a run-off. The black candidate was defeated. So while a jurisdiction may be forty percent minority, minorities have never been able to put someone in office because of this law. The Supreme Court has said that while the majority vote rule is not unconstitutional per se, it "enhances the opportunity for racial discrimination."[126]

A second devastating barrier to fair representation is the at-large election. An at-large system requires that every candidate be elected from the entire county or district rather than from a single jurisdiction. The effect is to "throw black concentrations of population in individual districts into countywide white majorities, depriving blacks of any opportunity to elect candidates of their choice."[127] At-large elections appear to have a severe effect, for when these systems have been abolished the number of minorities elected has risen dramatically.[128] This method is used extensively in North Carolina county governments. The 55 counties that use the at-large method alone are listed in appendix G along with the other methods of election used in North Carolina's counties.

The at-large method is seldom used in isolation. In 34 counties, candidates must reside in specific districts or section of a jurisdiction. Nine counties use a variation with a similar effect. There would be one specific position for each district, but the representative is chosen by the whole county. By separating each of the at-large positions into separate races for a district position, single shot voting is impossible.[129] This rule can have the same effect that the number-post requirements did. The combination of these election systems and voting rules puts an added burden upon minorities running for office.[130] Sometimes a third burden is added. The terms of each of the several positions might expire in different years. Single shot voting is again made ineffective when these staggered terms are used. "The larger the number of candidates to split the votes among the majority, the greater the chances of the minority group will be" to elect someone. Staggered terms reduce the number of candidates in a single election by cutting the number of open positions in half.[131] Each position is separated into a district race in which the opportunities for minority representation would be limited. Eighty county boards elect their governing bodies on staggered terms. The counties' terms of office are also listed in appendix G.

Multi-member district systems have also been associated with low levels of minority representation. North Carolina employs multi-member districts extensively, as does Virginia. In these two states combined, where 82 of 162 legislative districts were multi-member in 1980, blacks held only ten seats.[132] According to a report by the Voter Education Project, "..multi-member districts tend to give the majority party an even greater advantage and waste relatively more minority votes."[133] Single-member districts, especially those which contain a majority of blacks, are more likely to elect a minority to a governing body.[134]

By changing the boundaries of an area of representation, the opportunity for minority election can be manipulated. A municipality can annex a white area of the county so that the black voting strength is diluted. In 1970, the Supreme Court held that annexation must be pre-cleared under Section Five, due to its potential for diluting minority voting strength.[135] A report from the American Civil Liberties Union cited a dilution effect in Robeson County, North Carolina.[136] Between 1967 and 1970, three separate areas in the county were annexed into the administrative unit of the Lumberton City Board of Education. They did not submit this action to the Justice Department until 1974. The Attorney General handed down an objection to the annexation because he found,...."the boundaries of these annexations were outlined in a convoluted, meandering fashion with the result that blacks and Indians were virtually excluded from the three annexations in question."[137] The Attorney General found discriminatory intent in the annexations, whose purpose was "to assure that the children of suburban whites could continue to attend city schools, rather than the predominantly minority county schools."[138] The opportunities for minority election within the city were further reduced and "separate but equal" facilities were maintained in the county. Other annexation attempts in North Carolina have been objected to by the Justice Department. Edgecombe County and Craven County were denied a total of 38 annexations.

A more subtle effort to dilute minority representation is in effect in many North Carolina counties. John Edwards, from the Office of Economic Opportunity and former Director of the Voter Education Project, has suggested that some counties slyly allow one minority member on their governing board.[139] Without someone to second their motions, a Republican, Indian, or black voice would be rendered useless. In North Carolina, 12 out of the eighteen black elected county officials serve as the lone minority on their boards.

A final barrier to fair representation results from candidacy problems. Intimidation, apathy, and a feeling that there is no way to win may work in combination to limit the number of minority candidates in North Carolina. In 1980 there were only eight black House candidates and two black Senate candidates.[140] It is even

more difficult to elect minorities if there are few to choose from. Benjamin Ruffin, the Special Assistant for Minority Affairs to Governor Hunt, was quoted recently as saying, "It is an indictment of me and of every black in this state that we have only four blacks in the General Assembly."[141] Black North Carolinians who have been reluctant to run for office have not done so without just reason.

With the myriad of obstacles to fair representation, minorities face slim chances of election and with few opportunities to be elected, there is little motivation to run. A campaign takes time, effort, money, and loss of privacy, so a candidate hopes to be rewarded for these expenditures. As a result it is next to impossible to find a candidate who would say he does not expect to win. The opportunities for elected office directly influence the interest of minorities to run.[142] Some counties cannot get Republicans to become candidates, so that the Democratic Primary determines the entire election. The importance of the opportunities for election has been clearly proven when discriminatory voting rules are eliminated. An increased number of minority candidates has accompanied a change from at-large elections to single-member districts.[143] Throughout the entire South and all other areas covered by Section Five, there is evidence that points to an increase in minority candidates when election systems and voting rules are reformed.[144]

Once candidates launch a campaign, they often become targets of white disapproval. A Commission on Civil Rights report presented such a case in North Carolina.[145] Through a 1981 interview with Granville Carter, a candidate for city council in Roanoke Rapids, the report related the details of his intimidation. Mr. Carter received threatening phone calls and many other expressions of disapproval. He was told that he, as a black man, was "not supposed to be in politics." The words of discouragement not only came from whites, but from the black community as well. Blacks related to Carter their fears that they would be adversely affected by his candidacy. Mr. Carter believes that they were pressured by their white employers to give him that message. Minority candidates must rely on white support in order to win North Carolina elections, so access to the white community is essential for a successful campaign. Some candidates, such as George Young in Halifax County, have found it difficult, if not impossible, to recruit white campaign workers.[146] He was reluctant to send black workers into the white areas to campaign for him, therefore he could not gain the support he needed to win a countywide election.[147]

Obstacles to fair representation are perhaps the most devastating of all, not only to minority candidates who suffer the defeat but also the hopes of minority citizens. The discriminatory effect of these voting rules and boundary distinctions is obvious to minorities. Their effect is obvious to the Justice Department

also, as evidenced by the number of objections to such changes. While forty counties have this preclearance protection from changes, obstacles to fair representation persist in them today. Unfortunately, most of these systems were adopted prior to 1965 and are entirely beyond the reach of Section Five. The only recourse to discrimination in these counties and in the sixty non-covered counties has been Section Five. Before the 1981-1982 amendments to the Voting Rights Act, Section Two offered little relief from discriminatory voting laws and boundary distinctions, but now the "intent" test has been abandoned. Minorities themselves can be an effective mechanism for seeking this relief as they file suit against these practices. Once these barriers are defeated, apathy and discouragement should begin to fall away. More minorities voting, campaigning, and being elected may soon be a reality.

NOTES

[1]Seminar with Reverend Charles Ward, Raleigh, North Carolina, June 21, 1982.

[2]"North Carolina: Less Far To Go, Slower Pace To Get There," The Charlotte Observer, 10 May 1981, p. 9.

[3]Ibid.

[4]79 Stat. 437, 43 U.S.C. § 1973 (1964 ed. Supp. I).

[5]42 U.S.C. § 1973, 1973 b (f) (2) (1976).

[6]42 U.S. § 1973 b (b).

[7]The Voting Rights Act: Unfulfilled Goals (Washington, D.C.: The United States Commission on Civil Rights, September 1981), pp 97, 100.

[8]Pub. L 91-285 § 4.

[9]Unfulfilled Goals, Washington, D.C.: United States Commission on Civil Rights, September 1981, p. 5.

[10]Ibid, p. 8.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Laughlin McDonald, Voting Rights in the South: Ten Years of Litigation Challenging Continuing Discrimination Against Minorities (Atlanta, Georgia: Special Report of the American Civil Liberties Union, January 1982), p. 21.

[14]42 U.S.C. § 1973 c.

[15]A. P. Miller, "The Voting Rights Act and the 1981 Amendments" : an unpublished paper, p. 5.

[16]Ibid., p. 8.

[17]Nadine Cohodas, "Civil Rights Victory: Voting Rights Act Extension Cleared for President Reagan," Congressional Quarterly: Weekly Report, 40 n. 26 (1982), pp 1503-1504.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Ibid.

[20]Ibid.

[21]Nadine Cohoda, "Senate Judiciary Approved Voting Rights Bill," Congressional Quarterly: Weekly Report, 40 no. 26 (1982) p. 1041.

[22]Ibid., p. 1042.

[23]Nadine Cohodas, "Civil Rights Victory," p. 1503.

[24]Nadine Cohodas, "Senate Passes Extension of Voting Rights Act," Congressional Quarterly: Weekly Report, 40 no. 26 (1982), p. 1456.

[25]Nadine Cohodas, "Senate Judiciary Approves", p. 1042.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Nadine Cohodas, "Civil Rights Victory," p. 1504.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Ibid.

[39]"At-large Elections Challenged: Court Clarifies Evidence Rules," The News and Observer, 2 July 1982, p. 1.

[40]Ibid., p. 15.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Ibid.

[43]William H. Towe, Barriers to Black Political Participation in North Carolina. (Atlanta, Georgia: Voter Education Project, March 1972). p. 11.

[44]"Less Far to Go, Slower Place to Get There." The Charlotte Observer, 10 May 1981, p. 9.

[45]A. L. May, "Voting Rights: Is U. S. Law Still Needed?," The News and Observer, 23 August 1981, p. 1.

[46]Ibid.

[47]"Registration Statistics, " 1980, published by the North Carolina State Board of Elections.

[48]"Less Far to Go, Slower Pace to Get There." The Charlotte Observer, 10 May 1981, p. 9.

[49]A. L. May, "Voting Rights: Is U. S. Law Still Needed?," The News and Observer, 23 August 1981, p. 1.

[50]Ibid.

[51]"Registration Statistics," 1980, published by the North Carolina State Board of Elections.

[52]"Registration Statistics", 1980, published by the North Carolina State Board of Elections.

[53]Unfulfilled Goals, Washington, D. C.: United State Commission on Civil Rights, September 1981, p. 5.

[54]Ibid., p. 15.

[55]"Registration Statistics," 1980, published by the North Carolina State Board of Elections.

[56]A. L. May, "Voting Rights: Is U. S. Law Still Needed?", The News and Observer, 23 August 1981, p. 1.

[57]Ibid.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Laughlin McDonald, Voting Rights in the South: Ten Years of Litigation Challenging Continuing Discrimination Against Minorities (Atlanta, Georgia: Special Report of the American Civil Liberties Union, January 1982), p. 21.

[60]Ibid., p. 22.

[61]Ibid., p. 24.

[62]Ibid., p. 41.

[63]Unfulfilled Goals, Washington, D. C.: United States Commission on Civil Rights, September 1981, p. 5.

[64]Raymond E. Wolfinger and Steven J. Rosenstone, Who Votes? (New Haven and London: Yale University Pres, 1980), p. 61.

[65]Ibid.

[66]Ibid.

[67]Unfulfilled Goals, Washington, D. C.: United States Commission on Civil Rights, September 1981, p. 5.

[68]Ibid.

[69]Voting Rights in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina (Report of the Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina Advisory Committees to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, March 1982), p. 39.

[70]Laughlin, McDonald, Voting Rights in the South: Ten Years of Litigation Challenging Continuing Discrimination Against Minorities (Atlanta, Georgia: Special Report of the American Civil Liberties Union, January 1982), p. 21.

[71]Unfulfilled Goals, Washington, D. C.: United States Commission on Civil Rights, September 1981, p. 5.

[72]North Carolina General Statutes, Art. VIII § 163-67.

[73]Ibid.

[74]Ibid.

[75]Citizens Awareness Year 1982: General Information on Registration in 100 Counties (Raleigh, N.C.: State Board of Elections, April 1982).

[76]Ibid.

[77]North Carolina, General Statutes, Art. VIII, § 163-69.

[78]Ibid.

[79]Ibid.

[80]Unfulfilled Goals, Washington, D. C.: United States Commission on Civil Rights, September 1981, p. 27.

[81]Ibid.

[82]Ibid.

[83]Ibid.

[84]"Special Purge Report for 1980", published by the North Carolina State Board of Elections.

[85]Wolfinger and Rosenstone, p. 80.

[86]Ibid., p. 62.

[87]Ibid.

[88]North Carolina, General Statutes, Art. VII, § 163-72.

[89]Citizens' Awareness Year 1982: General Information on Registration in 100 Counties (Raleigh, N. C.: State Board of Elections, April 1982).

[90]Unfulfilled Goals, Washington, D.C.: United States Commission on Civil Rights, September 1982, p. 28.

[91]Interview with Barbara Wills, campaign workers, Raleigh, N. C., 19 July 1982.

[92]U. S. Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census, Voting and Registration in the Election of November 1980, Series P-20, No. 359, Issued Jan. 1981, pp 2-3.

[93]U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Population Characteristics 1978, Series P-20, No. 359.

[94]Ibid.

[95]Ibid.

[96]Ibid.

[97]Penn Kimball, The Disconnected, New York and London: Columbia University Press 1972, p. 289.

[98]Arthur Twining Hadley, The Empty Polling Booth (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1978), p. 40.

[99]Kevin P. Phillips, Electoral Reform and Voter Participation: Federal Registration, a False Remedy for Voter Apathy (Washington: American Enterprise for Public Policy Research 1975).

[100]Ibid., p. 14.

[101]Ibid.

[102]Arthur Twining Hadley, The Empty Polling Booth (Englewood Cliffs, N. C.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1978), p. 40.

[103]Ibid., p. 41.

[104]Penn Kimball, The Disconnected, New York and London: Columbia University Press 1972, p. 301.

[105]Kevin P. Phillips, Electoral Reform and Voter Participation: Federal Registration, a False Remedy for Voter Apathy, Washington, D. C. : Institute for Public Policy Research, 1975, p. 14.

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[107]Arthur Twining Hadley, The Empty Polling Booth (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1978), p. 40.

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[109]Penn Kimball, The Disconnected, New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1972, p. 289.

[110]Arthur Twining Hadley, The Empty Polling Booth (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1978), p. 74.

[111]Ibid., p. 40.

[112]Ibid., p. 88.

[113]Ibid., p. 89.

[114]Penn Kimball, The Disconnected, New York and London: Columbia University Press 1972, p. 295.

[115]Ibid., p. 296.

[116]Ibid.

[117]Unfulfilled Goals, Washington, D.C.: United States Commission on Civil Rights, September 1982, p. 38.

[118]William H. Towe, Barriers to Black Political Participation in North Carolina. Atlanta, Georgia: Voter Education Project, Inc., March 1972, p. 24.

[119]Ibid.

[120]Congressional Quarterly's Guide to U. S. Elections, 1975, p. 889.

[121]Laughlin McDonald, Voting Rights in the South: Ten Years of Litigation Challenging Continuing Discrimination Against Minorities (Atlanta, Georgia: Special Report of the American Civil Liberties Union, January 1982), p. 21.

[122]North Carolina, General Statutes, Art. X § 162-111.

[123]Ibid.

[124]Unfulfilled Goals, Washington, D. C.: United States Commission on Civil Rights, September 1981, p. 39.

[125]Laughlin McDonald, Voting Rights in the South: Ten Years of Litigation Challenging Continuing Discrimination Against Minorities (Atlanta, Georgia: Special Report of the American Civil Liberties Union, January 1982), p. 21.

[126]Ibid.

[127]Ibid., p. 40.

[128]Unfulfilled Goals, Washington, D.C.: United States Commission on Civil Rights, September 1981, p. 40.

[129]Ibid.

[130]Ibid.

[131]William H. Towe, Barriers to Black Political Participation in North Carolina. Atlanta, Georgia: Voter Education Project, Inc., March 1972, p. 17.

[132]Unfulfilled Goals, Washington, D. C.: United States Commission on Civil Rights, September 1981, p. 41.

[133]William H. Towe, Barriers to Black Political Participation in North Carolina. Atlanta, Georgia: Voter Education Project, Inc., March 1972, p. 25.

[134]Unfulfilled Goals, Washington, D.C.: United States Commission on Civil Rights, September 1981, p. 38.

[135]Perkins v. Matthews, 400 U.S. 379, 388 (1971).

[136]Laughlin McDonald, Voting Rights in the South: Ten Years of Litigation Challenging Continuing Discrimination Against Minorities (Atlanta, Georgia: Special Report of the American Civil Liberties Union, January 1982), p. 53.

[137]Ibid., p. 54.

[138]Ibid.

[139]Seminar with John Edwards, Raleigh, N. C., 21 July 1982.

[140]A. L. May, Voting Rights: Is U. S. Law Still Needed?", The News and Observer, 23 August 1981, p. 1.

[141]Ibid.

[142]Unfulfilled Goals, Washington, D. C.: United States Commission on Civil Rights, September 1981, p. 41.

[143]Ibid.

[144]Ibid.

[145]Ibid., p. 58.

[146]Ibid., p. 59.

[147]Ibid.

APPENDIX A: THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT

The appendix contains a list of all North Carolina jurisdictions covered by the Voting Rights Act.

JURISDICTIONS COVERED UNDER THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965 AS AMENDED IN 1970 AND 1975

A. Coverage Limited to the Original Special Provisions of the Voting Rights Act

Anson
Beaufort
Bertie
Bladen
Camden
Caswell
Chowan
Cleveland
Craven
Cumberland
Edgecombe
Franklin
Gaston
Gates
Granville
Greene
Guilford
Halifax
Harnett
Hertford
Lee
Lenoir
Martin
Nash
Northampton
Onslow
Pasquotank
Perquimans
Person
Pitt
Rockingham
Scotland
Union
Vance
Washington
Wayne
Wilson

B. Coverage Limited to the Minority Language Provisions of the Voting Rights Act

Swain — American Indian

C. Combined Coverage Under the Preclearance Provisions and the Minority Language Provisions of the Voting Rights Act.

Hoke	American Indian
Jackson	American Indian
Robeson	American Indian

APPENDIX B

Table B.1 contains comparisons between covered and non-covered counties. Table B.2 lists the number of changes submitted from jurisdictions covered by Section Five of the Voting Rights Act by state and year. Table B.3 lists these same changes but by year and type of change, for a clearer understanding of the type of changes Section Five covers. Table B.4 lists the number of objections returned to each state by the Justice Department since 1965. Table B.5 organizes these changes by type and puts them in order by percentage of all objections. Finally, Table B.6 is a detailed list of all objections which the Justice Department has returned to North Carolina submissions.

Table B-1 COUNTIES NOT INCLUDED IN THE PROVISIONS OF THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT, SECTION 5

A. Percentage of the Total Population Registered (1982)

$$\frac{\text{total registered}}{\text{total voting age population}} \qquad \frac{1,630,248}{2,564,782} = 63.56\%$$

B. Percentage of the Non-White Population Registered (1982)

$$\frac{\text{total non-whites registered}}{\text{total non-white voting age population}} \qquad \frac{201,809}{432,625} = 46.64\%$$

C. Percentage of Registered Voters that Cast Ballots for President in 1976

$$\frac{\text{total votes cast}}{\text{total registered}} \qquad \frac{1,118,000}{1,657,757} = 67.44\%$$

D. Percentage of Registered Voters that Cast Ballots for President in 1980.

$$\frac{\text{total votes cast}}{\text{total registered}} \qquad \frac{1,231,644}{1,802,183} = 68.34\%$$

COUNTIES COVERED BY THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT, SECTION 5

A. Percentage of the Total Population Registered (1982)

$$\frac{\text{total registered}}{\text{total voting age population}} \qquad \frac{853,550}{1,669,993} = 51.1\%$$

B. Percentage of the Non-White Population Registered (1982)

$$\frac{\text{total non-whites registered}}{\text{total non-white voting age population}} \qquad \frac{200,153}{509,875} = 39.25\%$$

C. Percentage of Registered Voters that Cast Ballots for President in 1976

$$\frac{\text{total votes cast}}{\text{total registered}} \qquad \frac{559,906}{895,960} = 62.49\%$$

D. Percentage of Registered Voters that Cast Ballots for President in 1980

$$\frac{\text{total votes cast}}{\text{total registered}} \qquad \frac{624,189}{972,661} = 64.17\%$$

Source: North Carolina State Board of Elections

Table B-2

NUMBER OF CHANGES SUBMITTED UNDER SECTION 5 AND REVIEWED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, BY STATE AND YEAR, 1965-DECEMBER 31, 1980

STATE	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	TOTAL
Alabama	1	0	0	0	13	2	86	111	60	58	299	349	153	146	142	295	1,715
Alaska***	0	0	0	0	----	0	0	0	----	----	0	3	0	25	1	8	37
Arizona****	0	0	0	0	0	0	19	69	33	28	52	228	180	311	163	655	1,738
California*	----	----	----	----	----	0	0	6	1	5	0	382	99	105	8	89	695
Colorado*	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	0	12	4	34	147	36	233
Connecticut**	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Florida*	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	1	57	8	46	28	28	168
Georgia	0	1	0	62	35	60	138	226	114	173	284	252	242	444	371	689	3,091
Hawaii*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	3	9
Idaho*	0	0	----	----	----	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Louisiana	0	0	0	0	2	3	71	136	283	137	255	303	460	254	336	356	2,596
Maine*	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
Massachusetts**	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	0	0	11	0	6	0	0	17
Michigan**	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
Mississippi	0	0	0	0	4	28	221	68	66	41	107	152	114	123	112	153	1,189
New Hampshire**	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
New Mexico*	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	0	65	-----	-----	-----	-----	65
New York*	----	----	----	----	----	0	4	----	----	84	78	106	96	72	27	25	492
Oklahoma*	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	0	1	0	0	-----	-----	1
North Carolina*	0	0	0	0	0	2	75	28	35	54	293	125	183	156	89	158	1,198
South Carolina	0	25	52	37	80	114	160	117	135	221	201	419	299	212	138	192	2,402
South Oakota	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	0	0	0	2	4	0	6
Texas	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	249	4,694	1,735	2,425	2,917	4,188	16,208
Virginia	0	0	0	11	0	46	344	181	123	186	259	301	434	314	267	464	2,930
Wyoming*	----	----	----	----	----	----	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Totals	1	26	52	110	134	255	1,118	942	850	988	2,078	7,472	4,007	4,675	4,750	7,340	34,798

*Selected county (counties) covered rather than entire state.
**Selected town (towns) covered rather than entire state.
***Entire state covered 1965-1968; selected election districts covered 1970-1972; since 1975 entire state covered.
****Selected county (counties) until 1975; entire state now covered.
----Not covered for years indicated.

Source: U. S. Department of Justice

Table B-3

NUMBER OF CHANGES SUBMITTED UNDER SECTION 5 AND REVIEWED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, BY TYPE AND YEAR, 1965 - DECEMBER 31, 1980

TYPE OF CHANGE	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	TOTAL
Redistricting	----	2	4	----	12	25	201	97	47	55	53	335	79	48	53	85	1,096
Annexation	----	1	2	----	2	6	256	272	242	244	571	1,499	939	880	1,130	1,205	7,249
Polling Place	----	2	4	4	7	28	174	127	131	154	408	1,983	844	1,402	1,122	3,058	9,448
Precinct	----	2	9	7	11	22	144	69	55	81	82	608	266	299	542	982	3,179
Reregistration**	----	----	1	----	----	2	52	15	6	4	46	147	366	162	271	5	1,077
Incorporation	----	----	1	----	----	----	4	1	4	1	5	15	12	5	11	58	116
Election Law 1/***	1	18	24	96	67	105	226	332	258	422	620	1,831	1,094	1,450	1,230	-----	7,774
Bilingual	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	22	781
Miscellaneous 2/	----	----	----	3	14	8	15	26	99	12	65	168	150	65	68	284	977
Not Within the Scope of Section 5***	----	1	7	----	21	59	46	3	9	15	206	105	86	84	29	-----	671
Method of Election*	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	196	196
Form of Government*	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	41	41
Consolidation or Division of Political Units*	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	14	14
Special Election*	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	369	369
Voting Methods*	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	93	93
Candidate Qualification*	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	11	11
Voter Registration Procedure*	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	738	738
Totals	1	26	52	110	134	255	1,118	942	850	988	2,078	7,472	4,007	4,675	4,750	7,340	34,798

*New computer classifications beginning in 1980.
**Modified in 1980; does not include other registration procedures listed above.
***Not used in 1980.

Note: These figures are based on computer tabulations. The computer program is limited to the above general classifications.

1/ Ordinance or other legislation affecting election laws; this category was replaced in 1980 by several others.

2/ Miscellaneous change not included in the above classifications.

Source: U. S. Department of Justice

Table B-4

NUMBER OF CHANGES* TO WHICH OBJECTIONS HAVE BEEN INTERPOSED
BY STATE AND YEAR, 1965 - FEBRUARY 28, 1981

STATE	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	TOTAL
Alabama	-	-	-	-	10	1	3	9	1	6	16	16	1	3	1	5	-	72
Alaska	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Arizona	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	2	-	-	-	3	-	8
California	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	5
Colorado	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Connecticut	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Florida	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Georgia	-	-	-	6	-	-	12	18	15	22	83	12	34	8	5	10	1	226
Hawaii	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Idaho	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Louisiana	-	-	-	-	2	-	36	13	6	10	5	52	1	3	-	8	-	136
Maine	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Massachusetts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Michigan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Mississippi	-	-	-	-	4	1	19	4	7	2	17	7	8	2	3	3	-	78
New Hampshire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
New Mexico	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
New York	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Oklahoma		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
North Carolina	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	8	-	37	3	1	3	-	62
South Carolina	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	7	26	4	11	8	7	7	-	-	77
South Dakota	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-1	-1	-	-	2
Texas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	48	13	22	26	18	2	130
Virginia	-	-	-	-	-	1	6	1	-	3	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	14
Wyoming	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Totals	0	0	0	6	16	3	86	52	37	73	138	151	104	49	45	51	4	815

*Some submissions include more than one change affecting voting. Thus the number of changes to which objections have been interposed exceeds the number of submissions which have resulted in objections.

Source: U. S. Department of Justice

Table B-5

NUMBER OF CHANGES SUBMITTED UNDER SECTION 5 TO WHICH OBJECTIONS BY DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE WERE INTERPOSED, BY TYPE OF CHANGE, 1975-1980

Type of Change	Objections	
	Number	Percent
Annexations	235	30.5
At-large elections	80	10.4
Majority vote	66	8.6
Numbered Posts	60	7.8
Redistricting/boundary changes	56	7.3
Polling place changes	55	7.2
Residency requirements	42	5.5
Staggered terms	36	4.7
Single-member districts	26	3.4
Change in number of positions	15	1.9
Multimember districts	13	1.7
Registration and voting procedures	13	1.7
Requirements for candidacy	12	1.6
Election date change	11	1.4
Change in terms of office	8	1.0
Bilingual procedures	8	1.0
New voting precinct	6	0.8
Consolidation and incorporation	6	0.8
Change from appointive to elective/elective to appointive	3	0.4
Miscellaneous	19	2.5
TOTAL	770	100.2

Note: The above figures count each element of an objection separately. For instance, if the Department of Justice objected to a proposed change of six polling places, this was counted as six proposed changes, but the Department of Justice data counted it as one objection. The total number of proposed changes in this table is, therefore, larger than the total number of objections from the Department of Justice data above. The above figures do not include objections subsequently withdrawn. Column does not total 100 percent due to rounding.

(Source: U. S. Commission on Civil Rights analysis of Department of Justice objected letters)

Table B-6

NORTH CAROLINA OBJECTIONS

SUBDIVISION	OBJECTION	DATE OF OBJECTION
Plymouth (Washington County)	At-large elections	3/17/71
State	Literacy test for registration	3/18/71
State	Literacy test for registration	4/20/71
State	Senate and House districts; numbered posts	7/30/71
State	Senate and House districts; numbered posts	9/27/71
Lumberton City School District (Robeson Cty.)	Chapters 636 and 638 (1967), Chapter 443 (1969) - three annexations	6/2/75
Craven County Board of Education	Chapter 837 (1967) - redistricting; method of election	9/23/75 1/
Robeson County Board of Education	Chapter 770 (1969) - at-large elections; staggered terms; voter qualifications	12/29/75
Williamston (Martin County)	Staggered terms	2/4/77
Rocky Mount (Edgecombe County)	Thirty-six annexations	12/9/77 2/
Pasquotank County	Polling place	1/3/78
Laurinburg (Scotland County)	Majority vote requirement and separation of electoral contests of the two-year term and the four-year term councilmanic positions	12/12/78
Reidsville (Rockingham County)	Staggered terms	8/3/79
Greenville (Pitt County)	Majority vote requirement	4/7/80
New Bern (Craven County)	Two annexations	9/29/80
State	H.B. No. 471 (1967) - 1968 amendment which provides that no county shall be divided in the formation of a Senate or Representative district	11/30/81
State	Chapter 821 (S.B. No. 313 (1981), Chapter 894 (S.B. No. 87 (1981) - senate and congressional redistricting	12/7/81
State	Chapter 1130 (1981) - house reapportionment	1/20/82
Guilford County	At-large to residency district elections	3/1/82

1/ Withdrawn 3/15/76
2/ Withdrawn 6/9/78

Source: U. S. Department of Justice

APPENDIX C

The following tables illustrate the effectiveness of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Table C.1 compares the number of black elected officials by state and position for 1974 and 1980, since the 1975 amendments have been credited with starting an upsurge in black elections. The Joint Center for Political Studies, the source of this table, computed the percentage increase in black elected officials and in Table C.2 computed their percentage of all elected officials. This table also presents the percent of blacks in each state as a whole in order to highlight the persistent disparity between representation for whites and blacks. Table C.3 lists the total number of voters registered, voting age population, percentage total voting age registered, white and non-white registration and their percentages. The county-by-county information was compiled from a February 9, 1982 report by the State Board of Elections. This table also contains a tentative listing of black elected officials based on a publication titled National Roster of Black Elected Officials 1981 from the Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington, D.C.

Table C-1

CHANGE IN NUMBER OF BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS IN SOUTHERN STATES COVERED UNDER THE PRECLEARANCE PROVISIONS OF THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT, APRIL 1974-JULY 1980

State and Year	U.S. Congress		State Legislature		County Offices				Municipal Offices						
	Senate	House	Senate	House	County governing board	Law enforcement officials	County school board	Other positions	Mayor	Governing body	City school board	Other	Other elected officials	Total	Percent increase
Alabama															
1974	0	0	0	3	9	52	16	12	8	48	0	1	0	149	
1980	0	0	2	13	18	40	23	9	16	110	2	5	0	238	+ 59.7%
Georgia															
1974	0	1	2	14	8	6	26	3	2	69	5	1	0	137	
1980	0	0	2	21	20	8	31	5	7	139	12	4	0	249	+ 81.8
Louisiana															
1974	0	0	0	8	32	19	41	0	4	38	0	7	0	149	
1980	0	0	2	10	85	34	87	1	12	119	4	8	1	363	+ 143.6
Mississippi															
1974	0	0	0	1	8	41	24	19	7	62	3	23	3	191	
1980	0	0	2	15	27	77	45	34	17	143	13	14	0	387	+ 102.6
North Carolina*															
1974	0	0	0	3	7	2	29	0	8	105	5	0	0	159	
1980	0	0	1	4	18	7	42	2	13	136	16	3	5	247	+ 55.3
South Carolina															
1974	0	0	0	3	18	12	23	2	6	51	1	0	0	116	
1980	0	0	0	14	34	20	47	5	13	86	9	1	9	238	+ 105.2
Virginia															
1974	0	0	1	1	15	4	-	2	1	38	-	1	0	63	
1980	0	0	1	4	34	5	-	3	5	71	-	1	0	124	+ 96.8

*Statewide data, including the 40 counties subject to preclearance.
-Not an elective position.

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies, National Roster of Black Elected Officials, vol. 4 (1974), and vol. 10 (1981). Date on Virginia supplied by Virginia State Conference NAACP.

Table C-2

BLACKS AS PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION AND ELECTED OFFICIALS IN SOUTHERN STATES COVERED UNDER THE PRECLEARANCE PROVISIONS OF THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT, JULY 1980

STATE	POPULATION PERCENT BLACK 1980	TOTAL OFFICIALS	ELECTED OFFICIALS BLACK OFFICIALS	
			NUMBER	PERCENT OF TOTAL
Alabama	25.6%	4,151	238	5.7%
Georgia	26.8%	6,600	249	3.7%
Louisiana	29.4%	4,710	363	7.7%
Mississippi	35.2%	5,271	387	7.3%
North Carolina*	22.4%	5,295	247	4.7%
South Carolina	30.4%	3,225	238	7.4%
Texas	12.0%	24,728	196	0.8%
Virginia	18.9%	3,041	124	4.1%

*Statewide data, including the 40 counties subject to preclearance

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies, National Roster of Black Elected Officials, vol. 10 (1981). Data on Virginia supplied by Virginia State Conference NAACP.

Table C-3

County	Voter Registration	Total Voting Age Population	Percentage Total Voting Age Population Registered	White Voters Registered	Percentage White Voting Age Population Registered	Total Non-White Voters Registered	Percentage Non-White Voting Age Population Registered	Minority Elected Officials				
								State	County	Municipal	Judicial	Educ.
Alamance	44,409	72,992	60.8	39,031	65.1	5,378	41.0	0	1	1	0	0
Alexander	13,269	17,759	74.7	12,502	75.3	767	66.2	0	0	0	0	0
Alleghany	5,662	7,223	78.3	5,578	79.1	84	48.5	0	0	0	0	0
Anson	9,631	18,112	53.1	6,531	62.0	3,100	40.8	0	0	0	0	1
Ashe	13,435	16,326	82.2	13,357	82.6	78	49.3	0	0	0	0	0
Avery	6,772	10,379	65.2	6,745	65.8	27	19.8	0	0	0	0	0
Beaufort	15,808	28,974	54.5	12,590	61.8	3,218	37.2	0	0	1	0	0
Bertie	7,997	14,664	54.5	4,432	67.0	3,565	44.2	0	0	0	0	2
Bladen	14,241	21,600	65.9	9,452	69.8	4,789	59.3	0	0	0	0	0
Brunswick	16,753	24,978	67.0	13,135	66.7	3,618	68.0	0	0	3	0	2
Buncombe	67,239	119,773	56.1	63,040	57.8	4,199	39.2	0	0	1	0	0
Burke	31,726	51,886	61.1	29,985	62.6	1,741	43.6	0	0	0	0	0

County	Voter Registration	Total Voting Age Population	Percentage Total Voting Age Population Registered	White Voters Registered	Percentage White Voting Age Population Registered	Total Non-White Voters Registered	Percentage Non-White Voting Age Population Registered	Minority Elected Officials				
								State	County	Municipal	Judicial	Educ.
Cabarrus	34,695	62,659	55.3	31,128	57.1	3,567	43.3	0	0	0	0	0
Caldwell	28,735	47,112	60.9	27,222	61.0	1,513	59.5	0	0	1	0	0
Camden	2,759	4,089	67.4	2,058	71.4	701	57.8	0	0	0	0	0
Carteret	19,645	29,976	65.5	18,484	67.9	1,161	42	0	0	1	0	0
Caswell	7,848	14,598	53.7	4,985	57.5	2,863	48.1	0	1	0	0	0
Catawba	46,898	75,880	61.8	44,023	63.5	2,875	43.8	0	0	0	0	0
Chatham	16,865	24,225	69.6	13,163	72.2	3,702	61.6	0	1	1	0	0
Cherokee	10,368	13,770	75.2	10,141	75.8	227	57.4	0	0	0	0	0
Chowan	5,569	9,148	60.8	3,957	71.3	1,612	44.7	0	0	0	0	1
Clay	4,470	4,950	90.3	4,443	90.2	27	100.00	0	0	0	0	0
Cleveland	31,194	58,713	53.1	27,025	56.4	4,169	38.5	0	0	1	0	0
Columbus	24,531	35,978	68.1	18,063	72.1	6,468	59.2	0	0	12	0	1

County	Voter Registration	Total Voting Age Population	Percentage Total Voting Age Population Registered	White Voters Registered	Percentage White Voting Age Population Registered	Total Non-White Voters Registered	Percentage Non-White Voting Age Population Registered	Minority Elected Officials				
								State	County	Municipal	Judicial	Educ.
Craven	24,360	50,833	47.9	19,190	51.6	5,170	37.7	0	0	1	0	1
Cumberland	58,092	176,927	32.8	44,049	38.0	14,043	22.9	0	0	1	0	2
Currituck	4,777	8,081	59.1	4,241	61.8	536	43.6	0	0	0	0	0
Dare	7,495	9,887	75.8	7,291	78.9	204	31.2	0	0	0	0	0
Davidson	50,254	81,575	61.6	46,365	62.7	3,889	50.7	0	0	0	0	0
Davie	12,264	17,796	68.9	11,327	70.6	937	52.9	0	0	0	0	0
Duplin	16,337	29,171	56.0	12,134	61.2	4,203	44.8	0	0	6	0	0
Durham	64,398	111,840	57.5	47,193	65.2	17,205	43.4	1	2	5	0	4
Edgecombe	18,637	38,287	48.6	12,492	61.8	6,145	34.0	0	0	13	0	2
Forsyth	114,765	177,443	64.6	92,352	67.9	22,413	54.0	0	1	3	0	0
Franklin	11,734	21,791	53.8	8,182	60.3	3,552	43.1	0	0	0	0	0
Gaston	58,815	115,494	50.9	53,502	52.4	5,313	39.2	0	0	4	1	1

County	Voter Registration	Total Voting Age Population	Percentage Total Voting Age Population Registered	White Voters Registered	Percentage White Voting Age Population Registered	Total Non-White Voters Registered	Percentage Non-White Voting Age Population Registered	Minority Elected Officials				
								State	County	Municipal	Judicial	Educ.
Gates	4,695	6,376	73.6	2,555	77.8	2,140	69.1	0	0	0	0	2
Graham	4,845	5,176	93.6	4,673	94.9	172	67.9	0	0	0	0	0
Granville	12,814	24,190	52.9	8,535	60.3	4,279	42.5	0	0	1	0	0
Greene	6,859	11,105	61.7	4,443	65.9	2,416	55.2	0	0	0	0	0
Guilford	142,224	229,568	61.9	118,223	67.6	24,001	43.7	1	0	2	1	0
Halifax	20,331	38,688	52.5	13,356	63.4	6,975	39.5	0	0	0	0	4
Harnett	23,411	42,953	54.5	19,534	57.9	3,877	41.9	0	0	1	0	0
Haywood	22,112	34,594	63.9	21,826	64.4	286	40.0	0	0	0	0	0
Henderson	29,759	43,359	68.6	28,930	69.2	829	51.7	0	0	0	0	0
Hertford	8,727	16,290	53.5	5,002	63.9	3,725	44.0	0	1	8	0	1
Hoke	6,817	13,530	50.3	3,481	54.7	3,336	46.5	0	1	0	0	1
Hyde	2,742	4,141	66.2	2,015	71.5	727	54.8	0	0	0	0	0

County	Voter Registration	Total Voting Age Population	Percentage Total Voting Age Population Registered	White Voters Registered	Percentage White Voting Age Population Registered	Total Non-White Voters Registered	Percentage Non-White Voting Age Population Registered	Minority Elected Officials				
								State	County	Municipal	Judicial	Educ.
Iredell	35,001	59,605	58.7	31,855	63.4	3,146	33.5	0	0	0	0	0
Jackson	12,556	19,228	65.3	11,779	68.0	777	40.8	0	0	0	0	0
Johnston	29,215	50,873	57.4	25,741	61.5	3,474	38.4	0	0	1	0	0
Jones	5,012	6,800	73.7	3,036	74.2	1,976	72.8	0	2	2	0	2
Lee	15,108	26,159	57.7	12,855	62.0	2,253	41.4	0	0	0	0	0
Lenoir	23,088	42,666	54.1	17,399	63.4	5,689	37.3	0	0	1	0	1
Lincoln	22,077	30,421	72.5	20,492	73.5	1,585	61.5	0	0	0	0	0
Macon	10,909	15,489	70.4	10,790	71.00	119	37.7	0	0	0	0	0
Madison	9,229	12,803	72.0	9,180	72.4	49	35.5	0	0	0	0	0
Martin	10,743	18,302	58.6	7,392	69.4	3,351	43.7	0	0	6	0	0
McDowell	18,014	25,349	71.0	17,297	71.4	717	62.0	0	0	0	0	1
Mecklenburg	185,566	288,687	64.2	153,121	71.3	32,445	43.8	1	0	4	1	2

County	Voter Registration	Total Voting Age Population	Percentage Total Voting Age Population Registered	White Voters Registered	Percentage White Voting Age Population Registered	Total Non-White Voters Registered	Percentage Non-White Voting Age Population Registered	Minority Elected Officials				
								State	County	Municipal	Judicial	Educ.
Mitchell	8,377	10,967	76.3	8,365	76.7	12	19.3	0	0	0	0	0
Montgomery	10,094	16,128	62.5	8,323	66.8	1,771	48.1	0	0	0	0	0
Moore	22,772	36,136	63.0	19,749	68.0	3,023	42.6	0	0	1	0	1
Nash	24,901	47,856	52.0	20,544	60.8	4,357	30.8	0	0	2	0	1
New Hanover	43,556	74,048	58.8	36,520	62.6	7,036	44.5	0	0	1	0	1
Northampton	9,278	15,855	58.5	4,712	67.4	4,566	51.4	0	1	7	0	3
Onslow	24,723	81,761	30.2	21,184	34.0	3,539	18.2	0	0	0	0	1
Orange	37,666	59,178	63.6	32,947	67.2	4,719	46.4	0	2	4	0	2
Pamlico	4,743	7,570	62.6	3,318	62.6	1,425	62.7	0	0	9	0	0
Pasquotank	10,091	20,518	49.1	7,129	53.5	2,962	41.0	0	0	0	0	1
Pender	9,908	1,5911	62.2	6,639	65.2	3,269	56.9	0	0	1	0	0
Perquimans	3,745	6,930	54.0	2,764	62.3	981	39.2	0	0	0	0	0

County	Voter Registration	Total Voting Age Population	Percentage Total Voting Age Population Registered	White Voters Registered	Percentage White Voting Age Population Registered	Total Non-White Voters Registered	Percentage Non-White Voting Age Population Registered	Minority Elected Officials				
								State	County	Municipal	Judicial	Educ.
Person	10,848	20,987	51.6	8,181	55.0	2,667	43.4	0	1	1	0	0
Pitt	32,552	65,865	49.4	25,732	56.9	6,820	32.9	0	0	4	0	0
Polk	8,110	9,810	82.6	7,529	83.6	581	71.9	0	0	0	0	1
Randolph	41,544	66,668	62.3	39.311	62.7	2,233	54.8	0	0	0	0	0
Richmond	17,147	31,928	53.7	13,223	55.1	3,924	49.4	0	1	2	0	0
Robeson	39,656	67,658	58.6	18,278	62.7	21,378	55.5	1	0	8	0	5
Rockingham	32,870	60,241	54.5	25,971	53.1	6,899	60.4	0	0	1	0	0
Rowan	40,650	74,130	54.8	36,452	58.0	4,198	36.9	0	0	4	0	0
Rutherford	23,102	38,884	59.4	21,618	62.5	1,484	34.4	0	0	1	0	0
Sampson	22,959	35,663	64.3	16,677	70.2	6,282	52.6	0	0	2	1	2
Scotland	11,303	22,237	50.8	8,153	60.5	3,150	35.9	0	0	1	0	1
Stanly	23,332	35,711	65.3	21,388	66.9	1,944	51.5	0	0	0	0	0

County	Voter Registration	Total Voting Age Population	Percentage Total Voting Age Population Registered	White Voters Registered	Percentage White Voting Age Population Registered	Total Non-White Voters Registered	Percentage Non-White Voting Age Population Registered	Minority Elected Officials				
								State	County	Municipal	Judicial	Educ.
Stokes	18,569	23,779	78.0	17,495	79.3	1,074	61.9	0	0	0	0	0
Surry	26,571	43,420	61.1	25,542	61.8	1,029	48.3	0	0	0	0	0
Swain	5,801	7,438	77.9	5,373	93.7	428	25.0	0	0	0	0	0
Transylvania	12,563	16,748	75.0	11,961	75.3	602	68.1	0	0	1	0	0
Tyrrell	1,741	2,916	59.7	1,226	65.0	515	50.0	0	0	2	0	1
Union	25,266	49,293	51.2	22,654	54.1	2,612	35.0	0	0	1	0	0
Vance	14,514	25,774	56.3	9,748	63.4	4,766	45.8	0	0	0	0	1
Wake	141,657	218,430	64.8	121,561	71.3	3,862	41.9	0	1	4	3	1
Warren	7,255	11,717	61.9	3,393	71.3	3,862	55.4	0	1	0	0	2
Washington	6,620	10,048	65.8	4,394	72.4	2,226	55.9	0	1	2	0	1
Watauga	16,415	24,223	67.7	16,316	68.7	99	20.2	0	0	0	0	0
Wayne	30,052	68,164	44.0	22,641	48.5	7,411	34.4	0	0	2	0	3

County	Voter Registration	Total Voting Age Population	Percentage Total Voting Age Population Registered	White Voters Registered	Percentage White Voting Age Population Registered	Total Non-White Voters Registered	Percentage Non-White Voting Age Population Registered	Minority Elected Officials				
								State	County	Municipal	Judicial	Educ.
Wilkes	30,812	42,313	72.8	29,623	73.5	1,189	58.0	0	0	0	0	0
Wilson	23,073	44,520	51.8	18,313	60.9	4,760	32.8	0	0	0	0	1
Yadkin	15,170	21,094	71.9	14,585	72.4	585	60.3	0	0	0	0	0
Yancey	9,491	11,016	86.1	9,406	87.0	85	40.0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTALS	2,483,798	4,234,774	58.6	2,081,836	63.2	401,962	42.7	4	18	142	7	60

APPENDIX D: SURVEY RESULTS

Thirty-eight counties were selected as survey targets. In order to select these test counties, every North Carolina county was designated according to its size and its location within the state. The five size categories ranged from small (20,000) to extra-large (200,000) and there were three geographic designations: west, piedmont, and east. The sample counties were selected on the basis of both designations, so that every size category is represented in each geographic category. Approximately one half of the counties are covered by Section Five of the Voting Rights Act, and the population of these counties approximates the state's proportion with 23 percent non-white.

After these counties were selected, the Supervisor of Elections was surveyed by phone. Some key results are included in the table as follows: When asked to give a racial breakdown of registration commissioners and precinct officers (judges and registrars), if the Supervisor was not sure of this number he or she was asked to give an estimate. Six counties had no estimate. Other results are self-explanatory.

Some other survey questions were answered only by a few counties so these results are not printed. Only six counties conducted a racial breakdown of their purge figure. Very few counties know when their present election laws were adopted.

Some opinion questions were included in the survey in order to get an idea of the attitudes of the county boards. The question usually asked the Supervisor's opinion of the success of this year's registration efforts and then was asked to elaborate.

Table D-1

NORTH CAROLINA SURVEY RESULTS

County	Registration Commissioners		Precinct Officers		Saturday Registration:	Registration Sites					Public Service Ads
	White	Non-White	White	Non-White		Office	Homes	Library	High School	Other	
Alexander	2	0	48	0		X	48			where requested	
Anson	0	0	36	3	X	X	39	X	X	churches	X
Ashe	1	0	56	1	sometimes	X	19				X
Beaufort	5	0	77	10	sometimes	1 full 5 part	87		X	shop. centers businesses	
Bladen	0	1	39	12	sometimes	X	51		X	tech. college shop. centers	
Buncombe	1	1	-153-		sometimes	X	153		X	supermarket nursing home	X
Burke	2	0	110	7	X	X	119		X	community college	taxes X
Cabarrus	7	3	87	6	X	6	93		X	shopping centers	X
Camden	0	0	9	0		X	9			with 3 bd. members	X
Carteret	2	0	92	10	X	X	102			shopping centers	

County County	Registration Commissioners White	 Non-White	Precinct Officers White	 Non-White	Saturday Registration	Registration Sites Office	 Homes	 Library	 High School	 Other	Public Service Ads
Cherokee	4	0	48	0		X	48	guidance counselors		shopping centers	X
Clay	0	0	21	0		X	21	X			
Cleveland	2	0	82	2	sometimes	X	84				
Cumberland	1	1	132	30		X	162	10	X	shop. centers drivers lic. off. where requested	X
Davidson	4	0	130	2	sometimes	X	132		X	where requested clubs, comm. college	X
Durham	- 27 -		-129 -			X	129	X	X	anywhere	X
Edgecombe	-28 -		- 60 -		X	2	86			malls, senior citizens, home, all polls	X
Forysth	* -175-		-237-			3	237	10+ book-mobile		175 anywhere	X
Gaston	21	6	117	9	seldom	19	126			malls,drivers lic. office	X
Haywood	2	0	92	1		3	93		X	31 poll sites	
Hertford	0	0	27	9		X	36			banks for one day	X

County	Registration Commissioners White	Registration Commissioners Non-White	Precinct Officers White	Precinct Officers Non-White	Saturday Registration	Registration Sites					Public Service Ads
						Office	Homes	Library	High School	Other	
Hoke	0	0	26	13		X	39		X	door-to-door	X
Iredell	2	0	65	4	when requested	X	69	2	X	cham. of comm. groceries where req'd.	
Jones	0	0	14	7		X	21	pending			X
Lenoir	1	4	57	9	X (2)	X	66		X	23 new sites	
Mecklenburg	-106-		-336-		X	4	336	16		2 farmers banks, drivers lic. office	X
Montgomery	0	0	41	1	X	X	42		X	tech. college churches re-quests	X
New Hanover	8	4	85	17	X	X	102			malls 12 go door-to door	X
Onslow	2	0	65	6		X	71	4		bookmobile, malls, fund-raiser day	
Robeson	0	10	55	53		X	108	X	X	mall, book-contest for precinct reg.	
Rockingham	16	7	87	3		X	90	7	X	where re-quested	X

County	Registration Commissioners		Precinct Officers		Saturday Registration	Registration Sites					Public Service Ads
	White	Non-White	White	Non-White		Office	Homes	Library	High School	Other	
Scotland	0	0	34	12		X	46	X	X	plants, shop. churches, where requested	X
Union	7	3	76	2	X	X	78		X	(10) where requested	X
Vance	1	3	34	12		X	48	X		where requested	X
Wake	33	27	-264-		X	X	264	17	X	driv. lic. off., plants, shop. centrs. church, where requested	X
Wayne	0	6	53	7	when requested	X	60	3	X	where requested	X
Wilson	1	1	8	61	when requested	X	48			tech.schools, plants, block neighborhoods	X
Yancey	1	0	33	0	X	X	33		X	where requested	

*appointed by special request

Source: phone interviews with 38 county supervisors of elections

APPENDIX E: PURGE FIGURES

The purge figures for 1980 were compiled from a special purge report of the State Board of Elections. This report listed the number of purge letters mailed, the number of voters responding, and the total number purged. In most counties the number of letters mailed, less the number of voters responding gave the total purge figure. There were several exceptions. For example, Duplin County sent 3,100 letters, but purged 5,201 voters. Jones County sent 578 letters, received 61 responses, but purged only 258 voters.

On October 6, 1980, the State Board of Elections reported a total registration of 2,774,844 persons. With a total purge of 274,187 we get a purge-to-registration ratio of approximately 10 percent.

In order to make purge comparisons on the basis of race, registration figures for October 6, 1980 were compared with the figures for May 29, 1981, which was the first time registration statistics were compiled after the purge. The racial breakdown for these dates are included in Registration Statistics Park II (Racial and Miscellaneous Designations).

	White	Black	Indian/Other	Total
1980 Registration	2,313,722	439,713	21,409	2,774,844
1981 Registration	2,081,836	384,467	17,495	2,483,798
Difference	231,886	55,246	3,914	291,046

	White	Black	Indian/Other
1980 Percentage of Registered Voters	33.38%	15.84%	.77%
		Non-White 16.61%	
1981 Percentage of Registered Voters	83.81%	15.47%	.70%
		Non-White 16.18%	
Difference	+0.43%	-0.37%	-0.07%
1980-81 Percentage of the Purge	79.67%	18.98%	1.34%

So, blacks and Indians were purged at a higher rate than their proportional share of the registered population. As a result, the proportion of non-white registered voters after the purge fell by approximately .43%, with the white share rising by that amount. Even though each race lost registered voters to the purge, the white share of registered voters grew. This trend contributes to the falling percentages of registered minorities in North Carolina.

VOTERS PURGED FROM REGISTRATION RECORDS AS OF 1980

ounty	Final No. Voters Purged	County	Final No. Voters Purged	County	Final No. Voters Purged
lmance	4,124	Gaston	NA	Pender	742
lxander	1,310	Gates	343	Perquimans	296
leghany	438	Graham	400	Person	2,742
ron	1,151	Granville	2,126	Pitt	1,993
e	938	Greene	348	Polk	830
ry	806	Guilford	21,849	Randolph	5,113
ufort	1,606	Halifax	4,331	Richmond	2,027
tie	1,338	Harnett	2,611	Robeson	7,474
den	380	Haywood	1,842	Rockingham	3,141
nswick	2,115	Henderson	2,747	Rowan	3,845
combe	8,980	Hertford	2,364	Rutherford	1,716
ke	4,076	Hoke	544	Sampson	2,235
arrus	3,826	Hyde	324	Scotland	633
dwell	3,484	Iredell	3,362	Stanly	2,243
den	85	Jackson	1,629	Stokes	2,540
teret	2,030	Johnston	4,059	Surry	2,877
well	465	Jones	258	Swain	797
awba	3,211	Lee	2,116	Transylvania	1,398
tham	2,104	Lenoir	4,228	Tyrrell	280
rokee	907	Lincoln	2,324	Union	1,677
wan	420	Macon	1,342	Vance	1,964
y	286	Madison	1,499	Wake	11,191
veland	3,697	Martin	1,510	Warren	815
lumbus	2,996	McDowell	244	Washington	970
ven	1,350	Mecklenburg	11,988	Watauga	1,577
mberland	8,478	Mitchell	305	Wayne	4,122
rituck	434	Montgomery	1,038	Wilkes	2,286
e	560	Moore	1,654	Wilson	3,294
idson	3,655	Nash	4,224	Yadkin	1,530
vie	943	New Hanover	5,440	Yancey	634
lin	5,201	Northampton	2,120		
ham	10,060	Onslow	2,955	TOTAL	274,187
gecombe	4,005	Orange	3,410		
rsyth	17,350	Pamlico	581		
anklin	1,295	Pasquotank	986		

APPENDIX F

These two tables give the percentage of registered voters in each county that cast ballots for president in 1976 and 1980. The votes for each candidate were totaled to get the figure in the far right column. The percentage was obtained by dividing the total vote cast by total registration figures after the books closed in 1976 and 1980.

PRECENTAGE OF REGISTERED VOTERS CASTING BALLOTS
FOR PRESIDENT IN 1976

County	No. Pre-cincts	Total Regis-tration	% Registered Voters Voting	Total Votes Cast
Alamance	30	44,114	68.5	30,231
Alexander	16	13,204	75.5	9,975
Alleghany	7	5,725	71.5	4,096
Anson	13	9,546	67.3	6,422
Ashe	19	13,530	75	10,155
Avery	19	7,150	69.8	4,992
Beaufort	30	17,533	59.7	10,467
Bertie	12	11,123	49.2	5,470
Bladen	17	13,638	55.6	7,589
Brunswick	20	16,368	67.6	11,066
Buncombe	51	72,195	68.4	49,379
Burke	39	32,071	76.2	24,431
Cabarrus	35	33,062	74.5	24,630
Caldwell	28	29,506	74.1	21,866
Camden	3	2,637	68.6	1,809
Carteret	33	18,780	68.9	12,939
Caswell	14	8,202	66.9	5,489
Catawba	40	51,644	69.1	35,708
Chatham	23	16,239	66	10,725
Cherokee	16	11,220	61	6,848
Chowan	6	5,389	53.6	2,889
Clay	7	4,233	71.1	3,012
Cleveland	28	31,073	72.7	22,588
Columbus	26	24,831	58	14,401
Craven	23	22,643	59.8	13,543
Cumberland	53	57,936	66.8	38,683
Currituck	12	4,604	64.5	2,970
Dare	15	5,704	68.2	3,891
Davidson	44	51,542	71.5	36,855
Davie	12	11,575	73.1	8,462
Duplin	20	20,786	56.2	11,694
Durham	43	63,314	65.6	41,533
Edgecombe	20	21,085	61.5	12,968
Forsyth	80	129,613	60.8	78,808
Franklin	11	13,640	59.3	8,093
Gaston	44	63,872	66.9	42,764
Gates	7	4,815	62.9	3,028
Graham	5	4,678	73.2	3,424
Granville	16	14,864	55.5	8,246
Greene	13	6,611	62.4	4,124
Guilford	81	142,661	65	92,740
Halifax	30	25,625	51.7	13,254

County	No. Pre-cincts	Total Regis-tration	% Registered voters voting	Total Votes Cast
Harnett	22	23,303	64.3	14,985
Haywood	31	22,801	73	16,648
Henderson	22	27,227	70.3	19,147
Hertford	9	10,804	51	5,510
Hoke	13	6,491	63.5	4,123
Hyde	7	2,948	58.2	1,717
Iredell	23	35,720	70.3	25,131
Jackson	16	13,029	67.4	8,785
Johnston	29	33,037	57.1	18,879
Jones	8	5,074	59.3	3,011
Lee	11	17,264	51.1	8,831
Lenoir	22	23,742	65.2	15,474
Lincoln	24	22,328	72.6	16,210
Macon	15	10,769	75.4	8,118
Madison	11	10,304	57.2	5,895
Martin	13	11,440	56.6	6,477
McDowell	18	15,700	68.4	10,746
Mecklenburg	107	189,826	66	125,399
Mitchell	13	9,811	58.9	5,780
Montgomery	14	11,104	64.9	7,211
Moore	21	21,003	71.5	15,020
Nash	24	25,856	68.1	17,616
New Hanover	29	42,392	67.2	28,477
Northampton	17	12,999	49.1	6,379
Onslow	26	23,816	58.6	13,970
Orange	35	36,360	69.4	25,226
Pamlico	17	4,736	67.7	3,209
Pasquotank	14	11,254	62.2	6,996
Pender	16	9,540	68.5	6,537
Perquimans	7	3,715	69.4	2,580
Person	14	15,074	46.6	7,033
Pitt	26	31,110	68.4	21,288
Polk	10	8,163	71.2	5,812
Randolph	39	42,369	64.2	27,197
Richmond	16	19,973	58.4	11,664
Robeson	39	48,340	53.2	25,699
Rockingham	31	33,093	69.1	22,871
Rowan	45	44,664	67.7	30,229
Rutherford	35	23,373	73.2	17,121
Sampson	24	23,734	67	15,902
Scotland	8	11,439	55.8	6,384
Stanly	29	23,627	77	18,187
Stokes	22	18,608	68.3	12,711
Surry	29	27,233	64.2	17,490
Swain	7	6,140	61.4	3,771
Transylvania	18	13,129	66.9	8,791

County	No. Pre-cincts	Total Regis-tration	% Registered Voters Voting	Total Votes Cast
Tyrrell	6	2,016	64.7	1,305
Union	25	24,872	67.7	16,840
Vance	16	14,786	64	9,461
Wake	75	132,131	67.2	88,775
Warren	14	7,658	60.5	4,635
Washington	7	5,764	75.6	4,361
Watauga	19	13,585	79.6	10,817
Wayne	20	30,067	63.2	18,993
Wilkes	32	31,388	70.2	22,024
Wilson	21	24,809	60.8	15,084
Yadkin	13	14,519	72.1	10,468
Yancey	11	9,079	73.2	6,649
TOTALS:	2,346	2,553,717		1,677,906

Table F-2

PERCENTAGE OF REGISTERED VOTERS CASTING BALLOTS
FOR PRESIDENT IN 1980

County	No. Pre-cincts	Total Regis-tration	% Registered Voters Voting	Total Votes Cast
Alamance	30	48,696	69.9	34,066
Alexander	16	14,621	76	11,109
Alleghany	7	6,002	71.8	4,310
Anson	13	10,825	65.5	7,087
Ashe	19	14,522	71	10,312
Avery	19	7,720	67.1	5,182
Beaufort	30	17,838	73.1	13,037
Bertie	12	9,250	60.9	5,632
Bladen	17	14,301	62.5	8,941
Brunswick	20	19,950	65.2	13,003
Buncombe	51	76,431	70	53,530
Burke	39	35,784	71	25,417
Cabarrus	30	38,669	66.2	25,585
Caldwell	27	32,291	69.1	22,310
Camden	3	2,878	72.5	2,088
Carteret	34	21,655	68.2	14,767
Caswell	14	8,463	68.3	5,777
Catawba	40	50,414	75.1	37,878
Chatham	23	19,033	69.4	13,205
Cherokee	16	11,900	59.5	7,079
Chowan	6	6,103	60	3,660
Clay	7	5,066	70	3,547
Cleveland	28	35,051	67	23,498
Columbus	26	27,508	57.9	15,940
Craven	23	25,713	65.3	16,783
Cumberland	55	66,021	68.5	45,228
Currituck	12	5,415	69.9	3,786
Dare	15	8,109	69.2	5,615
Davidson	44	54,200	70.6	38,269
Davie	12	13,278	74.4	9,880
Duplin	20	21,361	61.2	13,069
Durham	44	70,813	67.6	47,901
Edgecombe	20	22,810	61.6	14,056
Forsyth	79	132,703	63.9	84,798
Franklin	11	12,987	69.9	9,081
Gaston	42	65,720	68.8	45,204
Gates	7	5,154	67.3	3,467
Graham	5	5,208	69.4	3,615
Granville	18	15,167	61	9,246
Greene	13	7,343	69.6	5,113
Guilford	81	165,720	61.9	102,622
Halifax	30	23,655	61.9	14,648

(1980)

County	No. Pre-cincts	Total Regis-tration	% Registered Voters Voting	Total Votes Cast
Harnett	22	26,080	62.5	16,295
Haywood	31	23,994	72.8	17,462
Henderson	22	32,539	68.2	22,181
Hertford	9	11,728	51.7	6,060
Hoke	13	7,368	62.8	4,628
Hyde	7	3,053	67.9	2,072
Iredell	23	38,644	71.9	27,794
Jackson	18	14,272	65.2	9,310
Jones	7	5,534	65.6	3,360
Johnston	29	34,005	59.9	20,376
Lee	12	17,546	60.3	10,574
Lenoir	22	25,046	70.7	17,714
Lincoln	24	24,851	69.2	17,196
Macon	15	12,293	73.5	9,031
Madison	11	10,678	55.9	5,972
Martin	13	12,248	60.5	7,412
McDowell	17	18,213	58.2	10,606
Mecklenburg	111	195,047	73.3	143,058
Mitchell	13	8,819	71.1	6,270
Montgomery	14	11,122	70.5	7,841
Moore	22	24,589	76.9	18,911
Nash	24	29,697	66	19,601
New Hanover	34	49,925	64.6	32,244
Northampton	17	11,109	61.8	6,861
Onslow	24	28,643	58.4	16,736
Orange	35	41,497	68.9	28,589
Pamlico	17	5,360	70.9	3,803
Pasquotank	14	11,419	67.4	7,698
Pender	17	10,694	70.5	7,536
Perquimans	7	4,142	68.9	2,854
Person	14	13,727	54.9	7,534
Pitt	24	35,147	75	26,371
Polk	10	8,992	62.4	5,609
Randolph	39	47,415	64.8	30,717
Richmond	16	19,240	60.3	11,609
Robeson	39	48,788	51.3	25,030
Rockingham	30	36,297	64.8	23,522
Rowan	43	44,605	69.7	31,109
Rutherford	34	25,037	67.8	16,966
Sampson	24	25,330	69.4	17,578
Scotland	8	12,031	56.4	6,782
Stanly	26	25,673	69.5	17,846
Stokes	22	21,154	62.6	13,245
Surry	28	29,737	65.3	19,408
Swain	5	6,586	53.4	3,520
Transylvania	18	14,044	65.3	9,175

County	No. Pre-cincts	Total Regis-tration	% Registered Voters Voting	Total Votes Cast
Tyrrell	6	2,062	66.4	1,370
Union	26	27,805	70.8	19,688
Vance	16	16,552	59.1	9,774
Wake	76	154,672	67.9	105,193
Warren	14	8,159	66.5	5,430
Washington	6	7,575	66.5	5,037
Watauga	20	16,475	72.6	11,959
Wayne	20	34,444	66.3	22,836
Wilkes	30	33,651	68.5	23,049
Wilson	21	25,998	64.2	16,704
Yadkin	13	16,863	68.6	11,570
Yancey	11	10,282	73.4	7,546
TOTALS:	2,341	2,774,844		1,855,833

APPENDIX G

The following pages list each county by its method of election and by the terms of office for its county governing board. This list was compiled by Grainger R. Barrett of the North Carolina Institute of Government in 1981.

METHOD OF ELECTION

55 boards are elected at large:

Alamance	Davidson	Lee	Rowan
Alexander	Davie	Lenoir	Sampson
Alleghany	Durham	Lincoln	Stanly
Ashe	Edgecombe	Madison	Stokes
Avery	Forsyth	McDowell	Swain
Bladen	Graham	Mecklenburg	Transylvania
Buncombe	Greene	Nash	Tyrrell
Burke	Guilford	New Hanover	Union
Cabarrus	Haywood	Onslow	Wayne
Caldwell	Hoke	Orange	Wilson
Catawba	Iredell	Person	Wilkes
Clay	Jackson	Polk	Yancey
Cleveland	Johnston	Randolph	Yadkin
Cumberland	Jones	Rockingham	

34 boards are elected at large, but the county is divided into districts and candidates must meet district residence requirements:

Anson	Craven	Hertford	Pitt
Beaufort	Currituck	Hyde	Rutherford
Bertie	Franklin	Macon	Surry
Brunswick	Gaston	Martin	Vance
Caswell	Gates	Moore	Wake
Chatham	Granville	Northampton	Warren
Cherokee	Halifax	Pamlico	Watauga
Chowan	Harnett	Pender	
Columbus	Henderson	Perquimans	

3 boards are nominated by district voters only but elected at large:

Carteret	Duplin	Robeson

2 boards are nominated and elected by district voters only:

Mitchell	Washington

1 board has two at-large members and three members nominated and elected by district voters only:

Camden

5 boards have one-at large member; the others are elected at large but with district residence requirements:

Dare	Pasquotank	Richmond	Scotland
Montgomery			

TERMS OF OFFICE

4 boards serve two-year terms:

Beaufort	Durham	Mecklenburg	Yancey

16 boards serve four-year terms:

Alexander	Clay	Haywood	Macon
Buncombe	Craven	Jackson	Madison
Carteret	Davidson	Jones	Stanly
Cherokee	Graham	Lincoln	Swain

71 boards serve overlapping four-year terms:

Alamance	Currituck	Johnston	Randolph
Alleghany	Dare	Lee	Robeson
Anson	Davie	Lenoir	Rockingham
Ashe	Duplin	Martin	Rowan
Bertie	Edgecombe	McDowell	Rutherford
Bladen	Forsyth	Mitchell	Sampson
Brunswick	Franklin	Montgomery	Scotland
Burke	Gaston	Moore	Stokes
Cabarrus	Gates	Nash	Surry
Caldwell	Granville	New Hanover	Transylvania
Camden	Greene	Northampton	Tyrrell
Caswell	Guilford	Onslow	Union
Catawba	Halifax	Orange	Vance
Chatham	Harnett	Pasquotank	Wake
Chowan	Henderson	Pender	Warren
Cleveland	Hertford	Person	Washington
Columbus	Hoke	Perquimans	Wayne
Cumberland	Hyde	Pitt	

9 boards serve a combination of two and four-year terms so that a majority of the board is elected biennially:

Avery	Polk	Watauga	Wilson
Iredell	Richmond	Wilkes	Yadkin
Pamlico			

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